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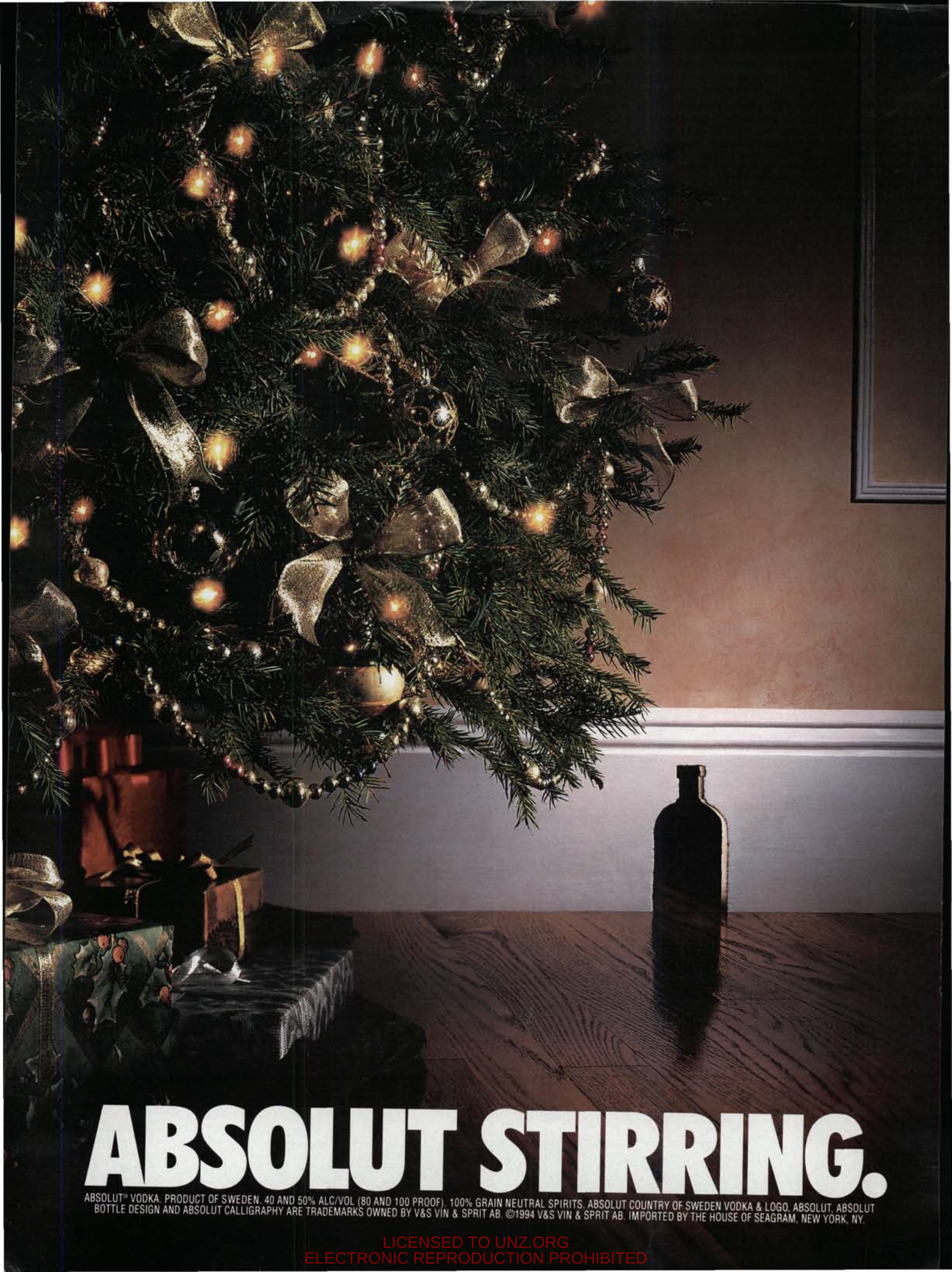

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NATIONAL REVIEW

DECEMBER 5, 1994 VOL. XLVI, NO. 23

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Letters

False Charges?

I was stunned to read in "For the Record" [Oct. 24] disparaging comments about NBC's coverage of the Republican Contract.

First, the factual mistakes. Lisa's last name is spelled Myers, not Meyers, and I joined NBC News in 1984, not 1989. Unfortunately, that same level of journalistic sloppiness spilled over into your analysis of our coverage. On *Meet the Press* (Oct. 2) I challenged both Congressman Newt Gingrich and Speaker Tom Foley to identify which federal programs would have to be eliminated, cut, or capped to bring the federal budget into balance. Neither was fully responsive.

You charge that I have "pushed NBC steadily leftward." When? What stories? You offered no examples because there aren't any. In fact, the same week your magazine arrived on my desk, Rush Limbaugh was on the airwaves describing me as "remarkably objective" and Congressman Robert Dornan was on the floor of the House saying "Russert is one of the better journalists. Better because he is fairer."

I'll keep reading NATIONAL REVIEW, but please, let's be a bit more accurate.

Timothy J. Russert
Washington, D.C.

We apologize for the date misprint and to Miss Myers for the additional "e." Otherwise, Mr. Russert's letter is a gas. First, we note the fallout from that Meet the Press, *on which the Republican leader was asked to explain himself no fewer than eight times. It was all the talk among GOP staffers on Capitol Hill the next day, and Mr. Russert himself, according to our sources, was busily doing spin control on the phone. We also note that the same week our issue appeared others, such as Bob Bartley of the* Wall Street Journal, *expressed disapproval similar to our own and also got a protesting letter from Mr. Russert. So we think Mr. Russert knows he overstepped; the fact is the Russert–Gingrich confrontation, like the Rather–Bush dustup in 1988, was one of the defining moments of a campaign.*

As for NBC's leftward tilt, we wonder why on the February 21 Meet the Press *Mr. Russert suspended his celebrated critical faculties in order to sing three hosannas to Bill Clinton (in contrast to Reagan and Bush) for budget-deficit "courage." The Media Research Institute has lots and lots more: NBC couldn't get enough of Iran–Contra but ignored the Whitewater story for two years (except to have John Chancellor denounce Jerry Brown for bringing it up). NBC declined to lead a broadcast with Bill Clinton's very real draft problems, though it had accorded Dan Quayle that honor for his non-existent ones. Then there were Mr. Russert's and Miss Myers's public agonies over the prospect of losing that likable old pol Dan Rostenkowski, and the amazing* Meet the Press *of June 27, 1993, which Rosty got through without being asked one question about his ethics dilemmas. More recently, when Oliver North was pointing out Clinton Administration military deficiencies (that the Secretary of Defense confirmed the next day) NBC News blithely told the nation that unnamed experts confirmed that Colonel North was "wrong." Mr. Russert also recently expressed his pride that NBC led the media mythologizers covering the 1992 GOP Houston convention.*

We believe that Mr. Russert is sincere in his desire to be fair and we take solace in the fact that his integrity and likability are testified to by many who know him. But we would like to see a little repentance for the treatment of Mr. Gingrich and his contract, and we wait for Mr. Russert to get a jump on the other networks by facing the fact that his newsroom (like those of so many major media outlets that brag about their staff "diversity") is an insular place. If Mr. Russert doesn't want to continue misplaying or missing important stories, he needs to do more than just hire a conservative reporter or two; he needs to bring on some bright, willful, conservative-minded producers and editors, give them a real say in the nightly news budget, and invite their vigorous dissent.

Anyway, we are glad Mr. Russert will keep reading us and assure him most fervently that we will keep watching him.

—FTR

Social Security Crash

John Attarian's "Crash Course" [Nov. 7], a primer on Social Security's eventual demise, is a wake-up call for Congress. Now that we know the problem, how do we deal with it? Mr. Attarian touches on several remedies, the most obvious being the "privatization" of the system in the form of mandated IRAs. May I suggest a first-aid approach until major surgery is performed?

An immediate saving can be realized by offering newly eligible retirees an opt-out plan of lump-sum checks amounting to their lifetime personal Social Security contributions, tax free, the employer contributions to remain in the system. Some type of reverse means test could ensure that those so choosing would not be at risk of later need. This distribution would provide the additional benefit of releasing large sums of money into the private sector for venture capital and consumer spending, creating jobs and more tax revenues. A nice by-product.

Maintaining the employer shares in the system will have a significant positive impact until a permanent fix is established.

Kenneth E. Smith
Hailey, Idaho

Mr. Attarian demonstrates well that the Social Security system is collapsing. According to him, an important factor in the impending collapse is the decreasing worker-to-beneficiary ratio. The ratio is 3.2:1 now, but, he says, it may drop to 2:1 in 2030.

What would happen if we were not aborting babies? I made a calculation, using abortion numbers, birth rates, population statistics, and data in Mr. Attarian's article. Without legalized abortions after 1973, the worker-to-beneficiary ratio in 2030 would be 3.1:1, about what it is now. Choice has fruits—and God is not mocked.

Russell Maatman
Sioux Center, Iowa

More Conservative Flicks

We read Spencer Warren's "The 100 Best Conservative Movies" [Oct. 24] with pleasure and appreciation, but were surprised at not finding our favorite among them. Norman Jewison's version of *Fiddler on the Roof* is a soul-searching movie rooted in conservatism.

Harry & Peggy Neuwirth
Silverton, Ore.

I'm shocked! You left *Casablanca* off your list! What could be more patriotic and conservative than the story of two people who sacrifice personal happiness for the greater good of humanity?

Claire L. Dondis
Belmont, Mass.

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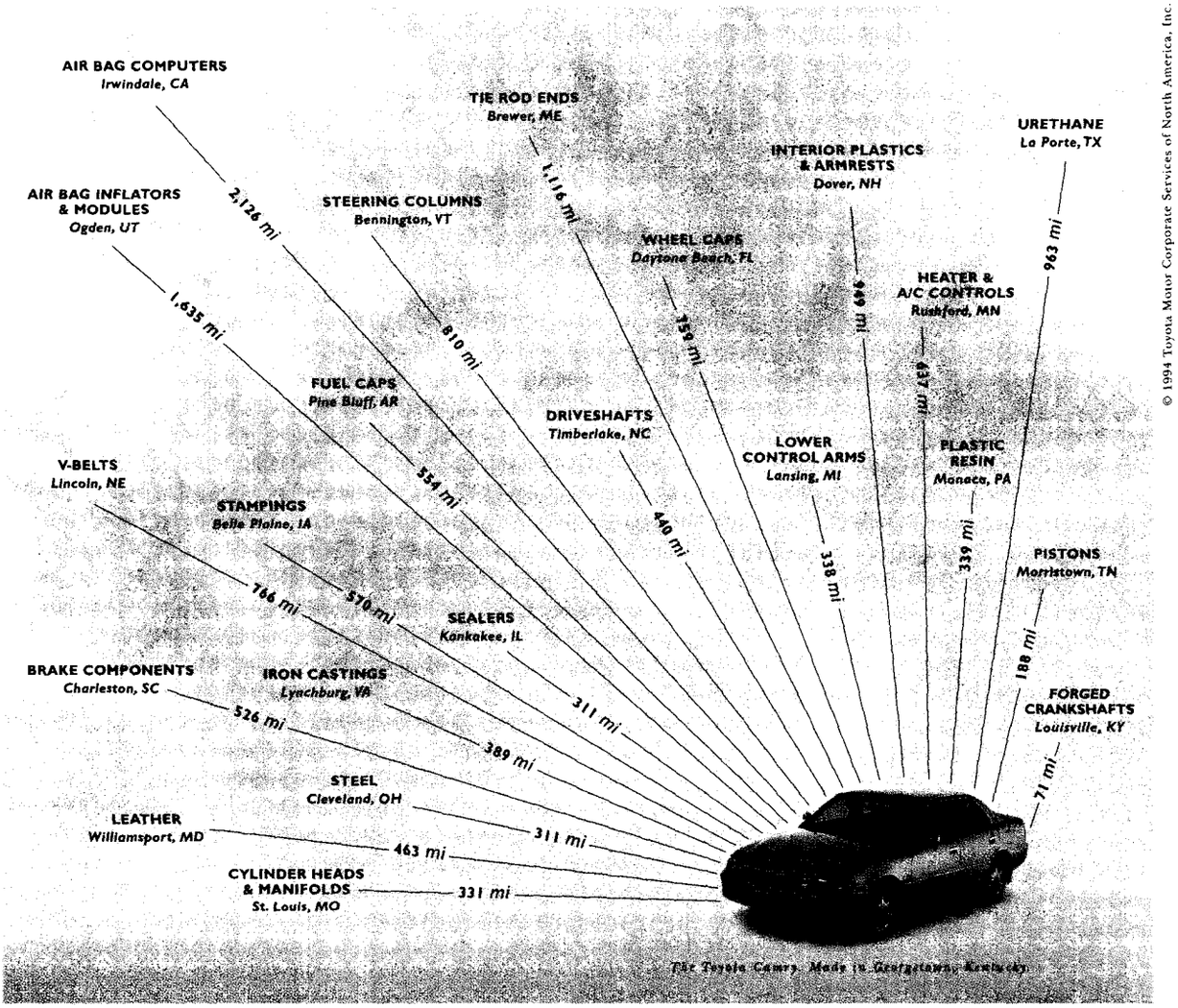

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FROM THE EDITOR

Soothsaying

■ I can produce witnesses who will swear that, prior to the 1992 election, I was sanguine about a Bush defeat precisely because it would mean the GOP's capture of Congress this year.

What seemed likely to put the rascals out was that they were undeniably in. With the separation of powers, Congress and the President can blame each other for whatever goes wrong. Thus, Mr. Reagan is sometimes held responsible for the S&L crisis because it "occurred on his watch" (i.e., was legislated in by Democrats who then misused their oversight powers to prevent the regulators from doing anything about it.)

But when one party controls both legislature and executive, it cannot shuffle off the blame elsewhere (though "Gridlock" was a good try.) At the moment of victory on election night 1992, the Democrats were doomed.

■ In early June, the *Wall Street Journal*'s house pundit, Al Hunt, expressed deep concern about the threat to the GOP from the Religious Right.

In particular, he forecast that four shaky Democrats would survive in Florida, Oregon, Idaho, and Nebraska because their opponents were Christian rightists.

Well, three of the four results are in and Mr. Hunt's score is zero. Sue Munsey lost in Florida, Helen Chenoweth and John Christensen won in Idaho and Nebraska, and when the absentee ballots are counted in Oregon's too-close-to-call race, Bill Witt may well prevail over Elizabeth Furse.

As for the larger picture, an election survey conducted for the Christian Coalition suggests that religious conservatives now account for one-third of the national vote—up from 24 per cent in 1992 and only 18 per cent in 1988. They divided better than two-to-one in favor of Republican candidates.

And given a choice between worrying that the GOP is too beholden to religious conservatives or that the Democrats are controlled by liberal special interests, the voters worry more about the Democrats by 55 to 25 per cent.

■ Mr. Hunt wagged his face in our fist again on the post-election *Capital Gang*. He exploded when Mona Charen complained rightly that the media, having largely ignored David Brock's book, had given lavish attention to *Strange Justice*, the Left's version of the Anita Hill/Clarence Thomas case by Jane Mayer and Jill Abramson.

Mr. Hunt asserted proudly that these two hackettes were "reporters," as if that made them members of some priestly caste, immune to partisanship or bias. Mr. Brock is not one of this elect, because he has political views and was helped to write his book by a grant from a conservative foundation.

This distinction is completely bogus. "Reporters" are people who report something, which Mr. Brock did at least as competently as the Misses Mayer and Abramson who themselves are like Mr. Brock in possessing political views—views that will distort their writing more powerfully if they are denied rather than frankly admitted.

As for how they sustain themselves, Mr. Hunt said at one point: "they worked for me" on the *Wall Street Journal*. He seemed to think this evidence of their disinterestedness, but all it suggests is that they are liberals too.

None of this need matter overmuch since the truth of a statement is not determined by the motive of the speaker. Both truthful men and liars make mistakes. But those most likely to be wrong in general are those who deceive themselves about their objectivity.

■ We have plenty of criticisms of *The Bell Curve* by Charles Murray and Richard Herrnstein in our symposium, but none so ingenious as those promised by W. W. Norton's advertisment for Stephen Jay Gould's book, *The Mismeasure of Man*: An "acclaimed classic that refutes the conclusions of *The Bell Curve*"—though published 13 years before it. —JOHN O'SULLIVAN

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FOR THE RECORD

■ Capitol culture shock as post-election press conferences by GOP leaders left D.C.'s media types as slackjawed as Japanese admirals after Midway. A triumphant Sen. **Phil Gramm** (R., Tex.), chairman of GOP Senatorial Campaign Committee, didn't make usual post-election warm and fuzzy sounds about moderate colleagues but told press they were "this little ole bitty atrophied wing" of party. . . . Youthful, bouncy Rep. **Bill Paxon** (R., N.Y.), chairman of Republican Congressional Campaign Committee, told astonished reporters GOP can expect more gains in '96. (Over a third of Dems who won in '94 won by less than 55 per cent, compared to only 5 per cent of GOP victors.) . . . Next came prospective chairman of House Energy and Commerce Committee, Rep. **Thomas J. Bliley** (R., Va.), who announced no more FDA-inspired inquisitions of tobacco-industry executives. Hearings run by Rep. **Henry Waxman** (D., Calif.)—who represents Beverly Hills, Hollywood, and Malibu and is stalking horse for FDA's Dr. Strangelove, **David Kessler**—drew heavy mail protests for treatment of witnesses. Meanwhile, likely next chairman of Senate Foreign Relations Committee, **Jesse Helms** (R., N.C.), said he just doesn't know about continuing foreign-aid program and said U.S. should have invaded Cuba instead of Haiti. . . . Not to be outdone was Rep. **Bill Archer** (R., Tex.), new chairman of House Ways and Means Committee, who said that while the flat tax was very intriguing his real hope was to abolish the IRS and replace the income tax entirely. Striking a statesmanlike note of caution, Archer said this probably couldn't be done in first 100 days of new Congress. . . . **Newt Gingrich** was everywhere; he told a Wednesday press conference that Clinton Dems were "countercultural McGoverniks" and "left-wing elitists" and followed up by announcing that all Great Society poverty programs would be looked at as candidates for chopping block. Finally, a happily dazed **Bob Dole** (R., Kan.) welcomed Democratic switcher Sen. **Richard Shelby** (Ala.) to GOP ranks and smilingly reminded reporters that Gingrich had once called Dole too moderate and a "tax collector for the welfare state."

■ *New York Post* media critic **John Podhoretz** hit ABC's *Turning Point* with devastating broadside—headlined "Shame on You ABC"—for its Nov. 2 smear of Supreme Court Justice **Clarence Thomas**. Hour-long pro–**Anita Hill** documentary never made elementary queries about assertions by anti-Thomas witnesses and declined even to interview investigative reporter **David Brock**, author of *The Real Anita Hill*. **Mona Charen** in *Washington Times* and **Linda Chavez** in *USA Today* also did columns unraveling pretensions to accuracy of *Turning Point* segment and of follow-up piece by ABC *Nightline*'s **Nina Totenberg**. Totenberg worked with liberal Senate aides on initial anti-Thomas smear for NPR and, after Thomas gained Senate approval, screamed obscenities at Sen. **Alan Simpson** (R., Wyo.) for defending the black conservative. . . . Later in week, ABC News chief **Roone Arledge** announced *Turning Point* was being cut back to one hour a week but did not mention Hill show and issued no apology. . . . Among conservative journalists hunt is on to find major domos behind this carefully orchestrated assault on Thomas, keyed to release of new book by **Jane Mayer** and **Jill Abramson**, *Strange Justice*. Besides ABC news executives and producers who risked network's credibility, likely suspects include left-wing Washington lobby groups that supported Hill during hearings and hate Thomas for sticking with conservatives on the Court. Watch this space.

"It's another special interest call, Senator—your wife!"

■ U.S. Ambassador to Mexico **Jim Jones** joined in criticism of Calif. Proposition 187 after media and street-gang attacks on U.S.-affiliated properties. . . . Canada's immigration minister, **Sergio Marchi**, has reduced immigration quotas by 24 per cent, citing heavy burden on health and social services. . . . Taiwan Foreign Minister **Frederick Chien** challenged assurances by Assistant Secretary of State **Winston Lord** that Communists will not attack Nationalists. Chien warned of shift by Red Chinese military forces to coastal areas facing his island nation. . . . **Jesse Long**, an American farmer who invested half a million dollars in Shanghai area to grow vegetables, is appealing to Paramount Leader **Deng Xiaoping** to rescue his business from Chinese bureaucrats. . . . As Russian PM **Viktor Chernomyrdin** canceled a scheduled visit, Russian Ambassador to Poland **Yuri Kashlev** launched public attack on Poles for pushing for NATO membership. . . . Cuba's coming harvest may be worst in forty years—Russian minister of foreign and economic affairs **Oleg Davydov** halted oil shipments to Havana for not meeting sugar export targets in deal with Moscow.

■ **Cher**'s former husband **Sonny Bono**, a newly elected GOP member of the House from Calif., says he knows people may laugh but he intends to be a good congressman. A former Palm Springs mayor, Bono became protégé of conservative **Bruce Herschensohn** after Bono unsuccessfully opposed him in the 1992 GOP Senate primary. Herschensohn first warmed to Bono for his replies to questions during primary debates: e.g., when asked about foreign trade—"That's a tricky one"—and about illegal immigration—"What's to say? It's illegal."

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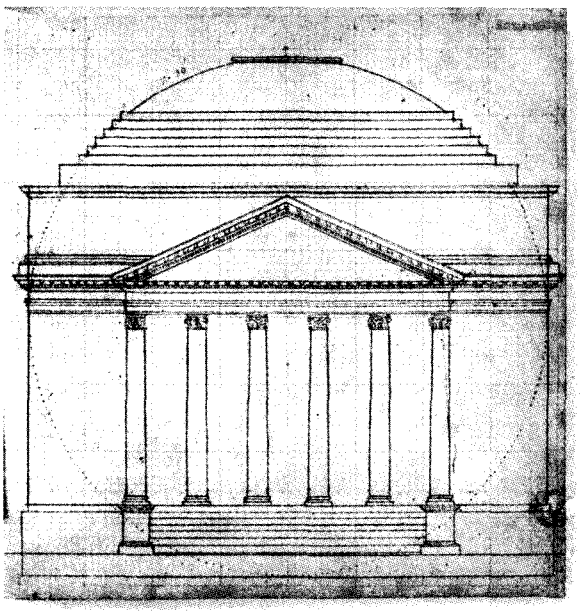

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THE WEEK

■ The announcement on November 5 that Ronald Reagan is mortal is one more example of the Big Lie by Democratic technocrats. It is appropriate that three days later, the electorate repudiated that attempt at mischievous disinformation.

■ He's a "bombthrowing-backbencher," a "legislative bombthrower," "ruthless," a "moral authoritarian," "looking at a more scientific, more civil way of lynching people," a "carnivore," "voracious," "mean," "mean, mean as hell." Who—or what—is this? Saddam Hussein, maybe, or one of the dinosaurs from *Jurassic Park*? No, it's just Newt Gingrich, symbol of the incoming Republican congressional majority, as he was described in the couple of weeks on either side of the election by such disinterested news sources as *Time*, the *New York Times*, and National Public Radio. All in all, analyst L. Brent Bozell III estimates, references to explosives were the most favored cliché among reporters writing on Mr. Gingrich. The media sought desperately for signs of dangerous radicalism to scare the public with. What they came up with, apart from the terrifying adjectives, was typified by an article in the *Washington Post*, "Speaker-to-Be Lobs a Few More Bombs." The "bombs" included a remark by Mr. Gingrich that it would be "very, very dumb" of President Clinton to block conservative legislation, since the Senate will "control every [executive] appointment" while the House will "control appropriations." Mean, ruthless, carnivorous Newt! We see now why the media are so alarmed. If Republicans lead the nation, the media elite, by definition, does not.

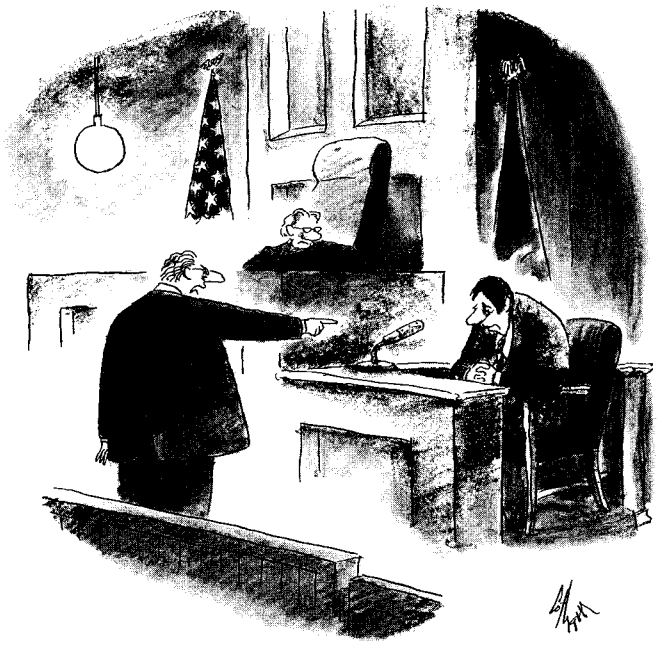
■ Bill Clinton promised he'd feel our pain. It merely took two years.

■ Judging by the media coverage, it is the "Year of the Woman" only when liberal Democratic women are elected. Eight Democratic women (including six elected for the first time in 1992) were swept out of the House last Tuesday. Two others (Jane Harman of Los Angeles and Elizabeth Furse of Oregon) will probably prove to have lost when absentee ballots have been counted. In their place, seven conservative Republican women, mostly from the South and West, were added to the House. We await the glowing *Washington Post* and *New York Times* profiles of this new generation of Thatcherite women.

■ Washington-based interest groups are only slightly less dazed by the November 8 tsunami than House committee chairmen and their staffers. The reorganization of committees and the firing of nearly 1,500 Democratic staffers will break one leg of the "Iron Triangle" of committee staff, interest groups, and regulatory agencies that has dominated Washington for thirty years. If voters extend the Republican lease on power in 1996, mischief-making by liberal congressmen and their staffs and their allies in the executive agencies could be disrupted for years to come.

■ Dan Rostenkowski figured he was in trouble when polls showed that even some of Chicago's deceased were voting Republican.

■ Mario Cuomo, once on everybody's short list for everything, lost the New York governorship for two reasons. One was a deep weariness with his 12-year tenure that affected even his supporters (a weariness reified by Mr. Cuomo's homestretch interview with *The New York Times*, which lasted more than five hours). The other was that the winner, George Pataki, offered a clear alternative agenda, promising to cut the state's taxes by 25 per cent. The Pataki camp was aware of Cuomo-fatigue from day one, but it released its tax plan reluctantly, and with barely a month to go. Yet Mr. Pataki's fidelity to a growth agenda will be the major determinant of his success as governor. His major obstacle will not be the requests for patronage from his mentor, Senator D'Amato, or even the ignorance of the New York media, but the tropisms of state legislators, Democrat and Republican, who were, after all, Governor Cuomo's co-conspirators for all those years.



"There sits the degenerate low-life described in the negative campaign ads."

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■ Amazing. After being blamed for every legislative failure all during the campaign, Republicans are now advised that they have acquired "responsibility."

■ It's easy to see how the election was a mandate against Bill Clinton and big government, but was it also a mandate *for* Mark Hatfield? For Nancy Kassebaum? For John Chafee? Oddly enough, that's the effect in the Senate of the Republican storm-tide, and perhaps the greatest threat to its continued force. Majority Leader Bob Dole already, a week after the electoral earthquake, was sounding a timid note on the Sunday talk shows. "Some of these things we'll have to phase in or change or modify," he ventured boldly. Below the surface, however, there is considerable movement toward a more populist conservative direction. In the last Congress, a group of conservative senators known as the "steering committee"—originally led by retiring Senator Malcolm Wallop (Wyo.), along with Paul Coverdell (Ga.), Larry Craig (Idaho), Trent Lott (Miss.), and Connie Mack (Fla.)—successfully pushed for a united GOP front against the 1993 tax hike, the pork-barrel stimulus package, and President Clinton's health-care package. Next year the group will be expanded to include newly elected John Kyl (Ariz.), Spence Abraham (Mich.), Rick Santorum (Pa.), Rod Grams (Minn.), James Inhofe (Okla.), and Craig Thomas (Wyo.). The conservative steering committee may wind up including more than half of the Republican Senate caucus. The group is already plotting to support Trent Lott to replace Alan Simpson (Wyo.) as Whip, correctly fearful that if Dole runs for President the moderate Simpson will have too much power and could derail the new agenda. And while venerable GOP budget leader Pete Domenici (N.M.) appears to be on track, the steering committee will be peering over his shoulder, just in case.

■ On hearing that Alabama Senator Richard Shelby had switched from Democrat to Republican, Mark Levin, former chief of staff to Ed Meese, said the least a magnanimous GOP could do would be to offer John Warner to the Democrats.

Box-Office Poison

Phil Gramm, who talked in Houston till
Birds staggered on the window sill
And heavy-lidded doormen let
All kinds of flotsam through the net,
Heads toward Des Moines to lay a claim
For delegates while taking aim
At Dole and Specter—two more whose
Charismas drive the dries to booze.

W. H. VON DREELE

■ Newt Gingrich is poised to become Speaker of the House and Dick Armey, Majority Leader, but the rest of the GOP leadership is up for grabs in elections this December. Herewith *NR*'s picks. For Whip, Tom DeLay has activist right-wing credentials that should outweigh the issue of geographical balance (like Dick Armey, he's from Texas); his able opponent, Bill McCollum of Florida, would make a fine Judiciary chairman, allowing the formidable Henry Hyde to continue his overall oversight as chairman of the Policy Committee. For Conference Chairman, veteran Bob Livingston (La.) is a tireless conservative voice on foreign policy, especially on SDI and Latin America, in an age when foreign policy isn't cool. But his opponents, John Boehner of Ohio and Duncan Hunter of California, both deserve kudos and preferment elsewhere. For Conference Vice Chairman, Cliff Stearns (Fla.), who was out ahead on the congressional-pay-raise controversy, should win his uphill battle against Susan Molinari (see "Island Charm," p. 25). For Conference Secretary, Tim Hutchinson (Ark.), an energetic sophomore, just noses out Barbara Vucanovich of Nevada. But she is the sort of woman—pro-life and principled—Republicans should be glad to showcase. Finally, Peter Hoekstra (Mich.), a Perot Republican who ran to the right of GOP bigwig Guy Vander Jagt in the 1992 primary and won, should run the Republican Research Committee. But how do you pick when so many look good?

■ On a normal election day, representatives of the television networks who gather exit polls are eager to share the data with Hill press offices. Not so this November 8. A representative of NBC told one Hill office that the early poll results were so "skewed" toward Republican candidates that pollsters had been ordered not to share the data with anyone. Quite right, too. Considering the panic Orson Welles caused when he told America it was being invaded by aliens, think what might have happened on the Hill.

■ Late election night, CNN called the vote on Proposition 187: Californians had rejected the ballot measure denying public benefits to illegals. Of course, voters had actually approved 187 by a hearty 18-point margin. CNN's wrong call was the Freudian slip of the establishment, which was impressively arrayed against this unsightly patch of grass-roots democracy. Both the U.S. government and the Mexican government opposed it. The California Teachers Association (CTA), the State Council of Service Employees, and the Spanish-language television network Univision all spent massively against it, providing roughly 70 per cent of the funds for an organization calling itself Taxpayers Against 187. (CTA's opposition is based upon affection not for taxpayers but for taxes: the more illegals in the classroom, the more money gets gobbled up by the schools.) The only interest group supporting

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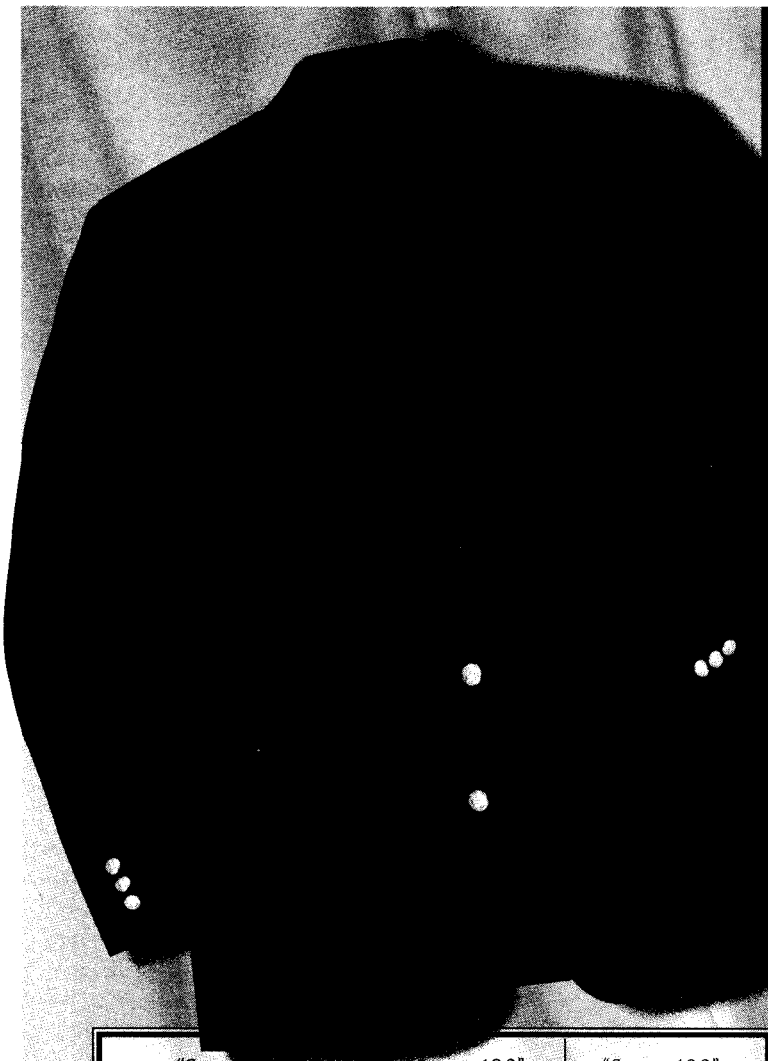

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Fully lined	*Yes*	*Yes*
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Center back vent	*Center back vent*	*No vent*
Padded shoulders	*Yes*	*Yes*
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187 was voters, not sophisticated enough to understand why the price of illegals should fall on them, or polite enough to hide this incomprehension once in the voting booth. The establishment can get the message and begin actually to enforce the country's laws—or brace itself for more rude treatment in the future.

■ The President, shocked Democratic legislators, and an inconsolable media elite are coming to grips with the terrifying prospect of tax cuts. But only "if we can pay for them." Think about that. "We," the Washington establishment, are saying that "we" own everything that "you," the citizens, earn. And "we" won't give any of it back in tax cuts unless "we" get paid for it with some fresh new taxes or power. That's really how they think in Washington, D.C., and in the newsrooms and faculty lounges of elitist garrisons.

■ But reality may be breaking in. On learning that almost all the first-time congressmen were Republicans, Harvard's Kennedy School canceled its usual orientation for freshman congressmen.

■ Surviving moderate and conservative Democrats should be deeply worried about the ideological tilt of their party. Defeated and retiring Southern Democrats, who had an average ACU rating of almost 40, had served as badly needed ballast for a caucus top-heavy with urban liberals. Only 25 per cent of Democrats in the new House will come from rural or suburban districts. Will this hollowed-out Democratic Party be able to remain upright? More likely it will capsize, forcing figures like Nathan Deal of Georgia, Gene Taylor of Mississippi, and Charles Stenholm of Texas to follow Richard Shelby of Alabama to the door.

■ The outcome of the leadership struggle among Senate Democrats will be a leading indicator of whether Democrats can regroup. Older and wiser members, who had favored defeated Senator Jim Sasser (Tenn.) to replace retiring George Mitchell, are scrambling for a replacement. Younger members are already committed to Mitchell protégé Tom Daschle (S.D.). If Senate Democrats run true to form, they will choose Daschle and march toward the cliff of the 1996 elections.

All Alone

Though Giuliani telephones
Pataki daily, busy tones
Are all he's getting from the hounds
With whom he hunted, as the sounds
Of fleeing hares (with whom he ran)
Fade like a Cuomo five-year plan.

W. H. VON DREELE

■ One silver lining for the Democrats: they picked up a city hall in New York.

■ But New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani may yet have the last laugh on his political enemy, Senator Alfonse D'Amato. He could endorse him for re-election.

■ Memo to: Soon-to-be-unemployed congressional staffers. Not to worry. There are five times more government jobs at the state and local levels than in Washington, and no sign of shrinkage. Start with California, where 1.7 million government employees earn an average of $3,900 per month, or 32 per cent more than their private-sector counterparts. Outdoor types should send résumés to Wyoming, Alaska, New Mexico, and Montana, which lead the country in the percentage of population that works for state and local government. Also try Oregon, the only state to elect an avowed liberal Democrat as governor. Closer to the Beltway, check out Maryland, especially if Parris Glendening runs the state the way he ran Prince George's County. And, of course, New York. It will take George Pataki years to disassemble what may well be his predecessor's most lasting legacy: a state bureaucracy that employs twice as many people as California's bureaucracy for a budget that's 25 per cent smaller. Some of you will want to give the private sector a whirl. With capital-gains taxes likely to be cut, this is the ideal time to clean out the garage and start the next Apple or Microsoft. A tip: ask your ex-boss for seed money. Odds are he has hundreds of thousands of dollars squirreled away in his or her campaign chest—and no good ideas.

■ It was bound to happen. Hillary Clinton's face is starting to turn up on the sides of milk cartons.

■ The Iraqi parliament has formally recognized Kuwait's sovereignty and UN-designated borders. But don't cheer too loudly. This tactical concession by Saddam Hussein, brokered by the Russians, doesn't satisfy many other U.S. concerns, relating to Iraq's clandestine nuclear-weapons program and the regime's oppression of its Kurdish and Shiite populations. The Clinton Administration has been admirably firm in wanting to continue UN sanctions; now, unfortunately, the pressure to lift them (led by the French and Russians) may have become irresistible. The Administration should have squelched the mischievous Russian diplomacy when it had the chance.

■ Vladimir Zhirinovsky, the strolling Russian rightist, said that Republican victories showed American concern about immigration. Thanks for the plug, just kidding. Make sure the guy doesn't get his hands on a copy of the Contract with America.

■ Prosecutors in Portland, Oregon, charged Nicholas

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The YB-500 is built in Europe with that rich, mellow Grundig sound the whole world loves. Audio power boost expands the dynamic range of music and speech—no other compact radio has this powerful feature!

4 *Listen to FM stereo with FREE headphones!*

Or use the line-out jack and a "patch cord" (available at any electronics store) to turn your Grundig YB-500 into a powerful all-band tuner for your component system.

5 *No dial twisting! Digital "lock-on" precision!*

If you know your frequency, use the keypad to punch it in. All buttons and functions work in a logical way. No clutter—no confusion. Continuous power scan stops at every signal and lets you listen. Only Grundig has this powerful feature!

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The BBC and all major world broadcasters are pre-set for instant retrieval—giving you the power to tune in the BBC anywhere in the world without having to know the frequency!

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E. Lebeck, the owner of Rose City Electroplating in nearby Sellwood, with five counts of unlawful disposal of hazardous waste and one count of aggravated theft. A district attorney told *The Oregonian* that Mr. Lebeck had committed "very serious crimes" with penalties of up to 10 years in jail on each count. But it turns out he has not disposed of any chemicals at all. According to a spokesman at the Department of Environmental Quality, all the company's chemicals are safe in containers, and the site "doesn't pose a threat." "Aggravated theft" is enviro-speak for being unable to pay the government's environmental bills. Back in 1988 Lebeck faced similar demands from Oregon's Green Police for $770,000 in expenses that regulators incurred cleaning up a property he had sold the government for the Oregon Convention Center. After major legal costs, Lebeck persuaded a court the government had no case. This time around, lawyers told him the government's case is just as poor, but it would cost him about $100,000 to prove that in court. Nicholas Lebeck put a notice in the window of his factory saying he was going on vacation and has not been seen since—America's first environmental fugitive?

■ Seen on pre-election bumpers: IF CLINTON IS THE ANSWER, IT WAS A STUPID QUESTION.

■ Coming to a bumper near you: NEXT QUESTION.

■ The weakest front in the war on drugs is the campaign against sufferers of a variety of ailments—cancer, glaucoma, migraine, multiple sclerosis, AIDS—who use marijuana to alleviate their symptoms or the side-effects of their treatments. The Emergency Coalition for Medical Cannabis sponsored a National Medical Marijuana Day in Washington, D.C., including the testimonials of numerous sick folk who have been helped by the drug, and a demonstration in front of the residence of the nation's most prominent non-inhaler. The chairman of the ECMC's Citizen Action Committee, *NR* senior editor Richard Brookhiser, released a statement with an eye on the election returns: "The new conservative Republican majorities in Congress have promised to reconsider four decades of Beltway business-as-usual. They could start by re-examining the policies that summon the powers of the state against patients seeking safe and effective relief. Stop arresting sick people."

■ A high-school girl in Atlanta, thinking to get extra credit in a history course, brought to class colored cloths, beaded purses, and ceremonial knives, artifacts from the African country of Burkina Faso, where her family once lived. Rotten luck. The school conducted a surprise sweep that day, and the young lady faces charges of bringing weapons to school.

■ David Gergen is leaving his job with the Clinton Administration to teach at Duke University. No odds yet on how long it will be before he moves to the University of North Carolina.

■ It's hard to get too worked up over the mini-scandal in which judges for the National Book Awards supposedly colluded with the publisher Houghton Mifflin to give special help to *Strange Justice: The Selling of Clarence Thomas*, which savages Justice Thomas. At first Houghton Mifflin released the book only to the award's judges, withholding it from reviewers—thus, says the theory, in effect making the judges its first reviewers and so influencing the media to treat the book favorably. Well maybe, but the media hardly needed the prompting of a National Book Award nomination (which *Strange Justice* duly received) to know that this book could be used to vindicate their adverse judgment of Clarence Thomas. As for the honor and prestige of the NBA as an institution, readers of fiction know that the judges are addicted to obscure, usually bad authors, preferably homosexual, female, and/or black. The awards in non-fiction are reminiscent of the good-citizenship certificates handed out in elementary schools, except the criteria don't involve keeping your desk clean and playing fair at softball, but rather saying the right things about such topics as Vietnam and the oppression of people of color. Besides *Strange Justice*, this year's contenders included books about Vietnam (Tobias Wolff's *In Pharaoh's Army*), misunderstood Native Americans (John Demos's *The Unredeemed Captive*), and black men as fathers (John Edgar Wideman's *Fatheralong*). It's harder to explain the nomination of *How We Die*, by Sherwin Nuland—though it does have a chapter about AIDS.

■ "Very scarry [*sic*] Halloween news / Will be part of every fall. / Bats and rats and such as that / Will gather at the witch's ball." So began the ditty on the party-favor notebooks given out by Vice President Al Gore at a Halloween party on October 29. The journalists and others who were invited, with their families, either were too illiterate to notice the mistake, or thought it a small potatoe when the Veep is a Democrat.

After the Bubbly

With liberals clinging to Teddy
  As Moynihan shifts with the wind,
While Gingrich re-jiggers committees
  And Dole decides what to rescind,
A whiff of von Hayek is bracing
  While downing the brie and champagne,
For tides have a way of receding,
  And moons, after waxing, will wane.

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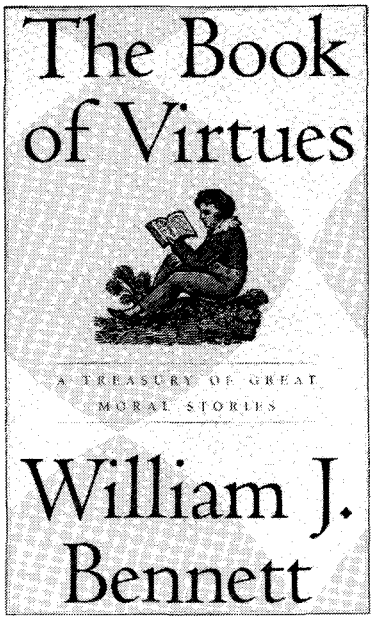

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It belongs, however, in every home. *The Book of Virtues* is a superb collection, certain to fortify you and yours for a lifetime of morality, goodness, and right thinking."

Mr. Bennett groups the selections according to the ten virtues or good habits they aim to instill:

Self-Discipline ★ Compassion
★ Responsibility ★ Friendship
★ Work ★ Courage ★ Perseverance
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Each section carries its own introductory essay, and the selections have explanatory notes where necessary. You get an amazing 384 selections. Most are stories, of course, but you also get generous helpings of inspiring verse.

The selections range from half a page to several pages — all short enough to be read aloud at bedtime, during a class or home-school session, or by young readers on their own. Adults will be delighted to meet many old favorites again, and to discover neglected gems that enriched the moral life of previous generations.

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■ From *NR*, November 22, 1974: "What ever happened to George Foreman? What ever happened to the emerging Republican majority?" Just a twenty-year detour.

Hobson's Choice

STARING too long at exit and post-election polls can induce giddiness. Are we really all Republicans now? Not quite. But it's clear from the numbers that Republicans have the opportunity to get a grip on the great middle of American politics, leaving Democrats saddled with an alienated and, more importantly, *alienating* electoral coalition.

Republican congressional candidates took 58 per cent of the white vote, up from 50 per cent in 1992; among white males the Republican majority reached an eye-popping 62 per cent. While the GOP cleaned up among whites, Democrats handily won blacks (88 per cent) and Hispanics (70 per cent). The pattern of Republican majorities among the largest segment of voters (whites represent 79 per cent of the electorate) holds in almost every demographic category. The GOP won among those with a college degree or some college education (55 per cent of the electorate), while Democrats won the voters with a high-school diploma or less and those with post-graduate education. The GOP took voters with a family income of $31,000 or above (69 per cent of all voters), while the Democrats won the lower-income categories. Finally, Republicans won suburban and rural voters (62 per cent of the electorate), leaving Democrats with urban voters.

These numbers are the product of the Democrats' politics of redistribution; they have made themselves the party of Them *v.* Us. Back in the liberal heyday of the 1960s, Democrats could build a coalition that embraced blacks and middle-class whites, because it was based on an idea, civil rights, that had broad appeal. But they have since jettisoned equal rights for racial spoils, i.e., affirmative action, creating a zero-sum political game. If President Clinton had stood by quota advocate Lani Guinier, thus placating his black base, he'd have lost even more white males. The same calculus applies in other areas. If Mr. Clinton had stuck more doggedly to his stimulus package, a gift to the cities, he'd have further turned off the suburbs. Welfare reform is another example—the more real it is—that is, the more it lifts the burden of supporting the underclass from the middle class—the more it will anger the Democratic core. Because the Democrats seek to subsidize their voters (whether with racial preferences or with urban block grants), they have created a situation in which the interests of their coalition are inimical to those of the rest of America.

Hasn't this been true for thirty years? The reason voters are now noticing is that they've lost faith in the Federal Government. The government was once seen as the neutral vehicle for doing Great Society good deeds; its programs had desirable aims—helping the poor, rebuilding the cities—and cost only money. Now the Federal Government has become something monstrous. According to Luntz Research, 56 per cent of people say the government has limited their rights or threatened their basic beliefs; 51 per cent can foresee a time when they may need to disobey the law in order to protect their constitutional rights. This extraordinary level of distrust made it possible for Republicans to attack the stimulus package and crime bill as "pork." Neither really had much pork as traditionally defined—spending slipped into a bill to benefit a particular congressional district. But pork had become shorthand for redistribution: the Federal Government was going to take money from your community to spend on midnight basketball programs in someone else's. In this sense, almost *everything* the Federal Government now does is pork.

This is, of course, a divisive equation, but it's one the Democratic Party has been writing for the last three decades. The Republicans are now the party of the universal idea: opportunity, which functionally means freedom from government. The Hobson's Choice is the Democrats'. Either they retrace their steps to become the broad, non-radical, Middle American party they once were, or they will have only one hope of office: namely, to import their voters.

To Boldly Go . . .

REPUBLICAN leaders in the House and Senate believe the mid-term election provides a strong mandate for significant change, and indeed they should. Exit polls show that 55 per cent want the GOP Congress, not President Clinton, to take the lead in setting policy, and 68 per cent favor smaller government and fewer services.

While the opening thrust will be reform of the Congress itself and a constellation of economic reforms as outlined in Newt Gingrich's Contract with America, the GOP must take care not to ignore the social and cultural issues. These provided a powerful subcurrent in the GOP's sweeping victory. Exit polls revealed that 58 per cent voted to solve moral and social problems, including the breakdown of families, compared to 36 per cent who voted to solve economic problems; 65 per cent were more likely to support the political party or candidate whose top priority was a reversal of the nation's moral decline.

The politics of cultural conservatism entails de-funding the Left by turning off spigots to the National Endowments for the Arts and the Humanities, the Public Broadcasting Corporation, and education programs that distribute condoms in the schools or pro-

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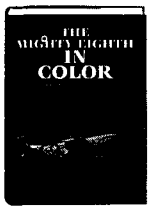

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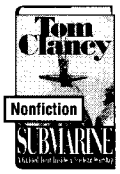

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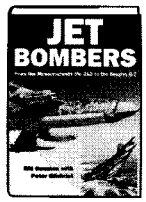

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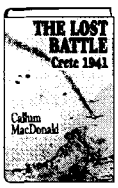

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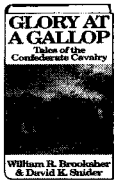

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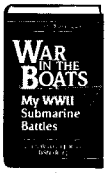

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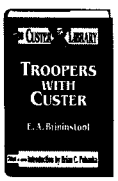

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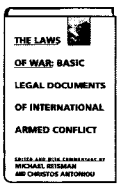

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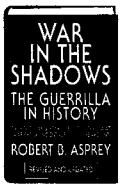

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mote "alternative lifestyles." It also includes judicial selection, where Republicans must vote to block nominees who are more concerned with criminals' rights than with safety or family values. The Clinton Administration's Goals 2000 curriculum must be completely overhauled to emphasize the facts and the worth of the American historical and cultural experience. Immigration rules must be toughened. Parental rights must be strengthened. Ethnic and gender quotas must be phased out. Federal money must not subsidize abortions. Voluntary prayer in the schools must be allowed. The Republican Party must not shirk its responsibility to promote values that are essential to family life and business success.

Turning back to economic policy, the new GOP Congress must not be afraid of rolling back the Bush–Clinton tax hikes, or of instituting far-reaching tax reform that will flatten and simplify the tax code at much lower tax rates. A steadily rising payroll-tax burden has assaulted middle-class family-owned business and discouraged new job creation. At the appropriate time there must be an overhaul of Social Security, including opt-out reforms, and expanded private health insurance provisions.

The new Republican Congress must be willing to act boldly, take large risks—and accept the occasional failure along the way.

At the Water's Edge

PRESIDENTS have the initiative in foreign affairs, and Mr. Clinton is reported to want to concentrate on this area—in which he imagines himself to be on a roll—now that his domestic agenda is stymied by the Republican Congress. The bad news for Mr. Clinton is that Republicans have a foreign-policy agenda too, and are in a position to exert pressure over issues that concern them. For example:

—reversing the dangerous decline in our defense posture (expenditures are projected to sink over five years to 2.9 per cent of GDP, the lowest since the 1930s);

—pressing for bolder action to arm and assist the Bosnians now regaining ground from the Serbs;

—putting an end to profligate "humanitarian" interventions (Haiti, Somalia, etc.) that serve no strategic purpose and stretch our forces thin;

—bringing Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia into NATO at an early date, and keeping a wary eye on Russia's attempts to rebuild its empire;

—restoring adequate funding for defense against ballistic missiles, an historic project of Ronald Reagan's, and now an urgent priority;

—requiring that any modifications of the ABM Treaty now being negotiated with the Russians be submitted to the Senate as formal treaty amendments (which should stop in their tracks the dangerous concessions the Administration is now contemplating);

—tightening controls on exports of militarily usable technology, to keep it out of the hands of rogue states like North Korea, Iran, and Iraq.

Republicans will have other concerns as well. Foreign aid will undergo withering scrutiny in Senator Helms's Foreign Relations Committee, as will new State Department appointments. (Sorry, Strobe—the elections may have saved Warren Christopher.)

With power, however, comes responsibility, in foreign as in domestic policy. The Republicans have an obligation to live up to their postwar tradition as prudent internationalists. For that we need allies, particularly our traditional allies in NATO and Japan. We can use the United Nations to mobilize the world behind U.S. goals (but not vice versa, and *never* to put U.S. combat forces under UN operational command).

Republicans also believe in an open world trading system. Therefore, the new GATT should be ratified. This may be the first issue on which Republicans can show their willingness to cooperate with the President when he does something more or less right.

House Cleaning

IN THE White House they are supposed to be scanning David McCullough's *Truman* as a blueprint for rebounding from last week's wipe-out. Vain hope. Harry Truman's resurrection, from 1946 to 1948, took place at a time when voters still felt some affection for the previous model of Democratic statism, the New Deal. Today, the analogous model is the Great Society, and there is no reserve of trust in it for Bill Clinton to draw on. Indeed, Mr. Clinton won two years ago by running as a New Democrat, with a vision of something different. When his vision turned out to be empty, voters returned to the real alternative, the GOP. The Republicans offer that alternative because of the true historical model for this political period, which is not Truman, but Ronald Reagan. It was Reagan who showed the Republican Party how to be a conservative party, able to cut deeply in local elections on national issues. After last week's results, the one-term Presidencies of George Bush and Bill Clinton look like blips in the era he inaugurated.

The biggest Republican winner was Senator Phil Gramm, who headed the National Republican Senatorial Committee. He—along with Bill Paxon, who led the GOP effort in the House, and Republican National Committee Chairman Haley Barbour—deserves much of the credit for the campaign's nuts and bolts—and its dollars and cents. Senator Gramm will have many IOUs to cash in, starting about a year from now. All the more reason for conservatives to scrutinize carefully his record on taxation and growth.

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"Programs invented by politicians and implemented by bureaucrats, all designed to help immigrants assimilate into American culture. In reality, they do just the opposite. They keep immigrants linguistically isolated. And they seriously limit an individual's earning potential.

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"Around the nation we're at the forefront of legislation on a state by state level. To date, 19 states have passed official language bills. We have a lot of work ahead of us and we can't do it without your help. It's time for you to speak up in a language politicians and bureaucrats can't ignore."

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The second big winner has to be Pete Wilson, governor of the biggest, richest, and electorally most important state, with an early primary in this election cycle. Governor Wilson brought himself back from political near-death by discovering the importance of the immigration issue. Still, conservatives must take a hard look at his pre-187 ailments. Speaker-to-be Newt Gingrich, winner number three, is now the party's leading power-broker by virtue of his position and his knack for converting theories into bumperstickers. Bob Dole's pursuit of higher office, augmented by greater visibility and power as the next Majority Leader, will be tempered by the distractions of that office. Jack Kemp found himself on the wrong side of 187, but he stumped hard for many winners, including New York Governor-elect George Pataki.

The losers? Ross Perot endorsed Texas governor Ann Richards and an independent candidate in New York. All three are history. The GOP resurgence makes even Colin Powell look a bit less inevitable. Do you do Lincoln Day dinners as well as deserts, General?

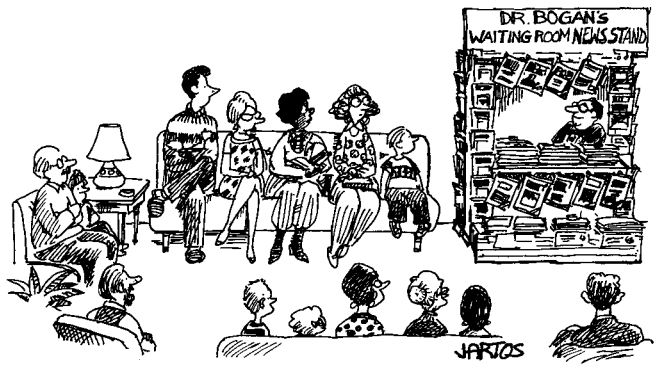
The last-ditch hope of liberals is that the GOP will fly apart, destroyed by all that it has ingested. But consider the issues. The Democratic defeat comes in the midst of a recovery from the Bush recession. Yet the voters have not given Democrats credit for it, because they know it is a weak recovery, which they sense has been undermined by four years of tax increases. Republicans have much to reap if they restore the economic climate of the mid Eighties. Proposition 187 looks to be the Proposition 13 of the next political period. A straw in the wind was the election-week appearance in the liberal *Atlantic Monthly* of a cover story by the liberal historian Paul Kennedy, quoting favorably from Jean Raspail's prophetic and definitely un-liberal novel *The Camp of the Saints*. The social issues, finally, continue to hold strong, despite the defeat of anti-gay-rights measures in Oregon and Idaho, and of the Christian Coalition's face-card candidate, Oliver North, in Virginia. Forty new pro-lifers entered the House, six of them women; five hardcore pro-lifers joined the Senate. Tax cutting, national identity, traditional values: sounds like happy days are here again.

Notes & Asides

■ Dear Bill:

I know that the book department doesn't review reissued books, but I know also that the numerous fans of the late Willmoore Kendall will rejoice to learn that *Wilmoore Kendall Contra Mundum*, acclaimed by many as a masterpiece, has been brought out again by the Intercollegiate Studies Institute. It is available from the University Press of America (4720 Boston Way, Lanham, Maryland 20705) for $25.95.

Nostradamus
Paris



Dear Nostradamus: I was about to ask how you knew this, since you died in 1566, but that would have been dumb, wouldn't it? Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

In Notes & Asides [Nov. 7] you published some survey answers. What I fail to understand is some of the percentages. Take the frequent flier or valid passport for an example. Both have about 2 per cent who did not give an answer. Both questions are straightforward enough: either you do or you don't. It just seems to give further credence to the disbelief in any polling data. Probably if you went out at 6:00 P.M. on July 1 and asked if it was day or night out, some people still would not be sure!

Sincerely,
William D. Jempty Jr.
Lantana, Fla.

Dear Mr. Jempty: I'd guess there are always some people who don't answer because they figure it's the only way they can communicate: None of your business. Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Bill:

The incessant onslaught of yammering about the deadly effects of "second-hand smoke" apparently will never cease. It has been going on now for at least twenty years.

In 1974 the *Kansas City Star* published my short letter to the editor regarding this crusade. I am sending you the essence of that letter because I was reminded of it today while riding for twenty floors in a crowded elevator.

It went as follows:

"According to a recent poll on Channel 9 the public is in favor of a ban on smoking in public places. It seems only logical to me to extend the ban to the wearing of heavy perfume and the surreptitious emission of hydrogen sulfide." Sometimes a cigarette is mandatory in self-defense!

Gregory L. Pucci, MD
Leawood, Kan.

Dear Dr. Pucci: Is hydrogen sulfide carcinogenic? Cordially, **—WFB**

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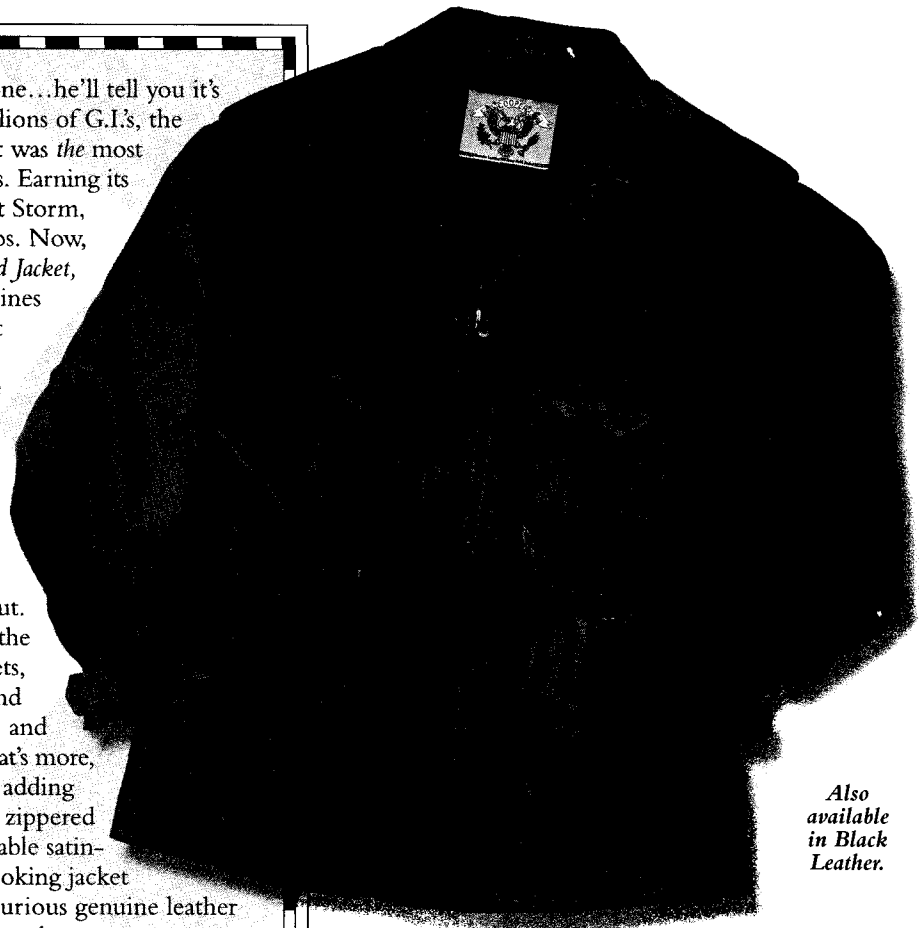

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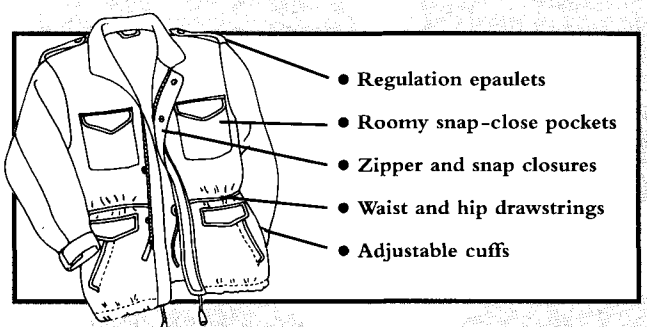

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Getting to Zero

LAWRENCE KUDLOW

Roman Genn

WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE GOP's massive election victory signals a dramatic reversal in fiscal policy. Instead of shoveling an ever-increasing share of taxpayers' income into Leviathan's maw, the new Congress will seek to transfer resources *from* the government *to* the private economy. Through a series of sweeping policy actions designed to shrink the federal sector and reduce taxes, the Republicans will devolve as much fiscal responsibility as possible to states, counties, cities, and, ultimately, the voters and taxpayers. Reductions in benefits and services will be translated into tax relief for individuals, families, and businesses, so that people can decide for themselves how to spend their hard-earned money.

The centerpiece of the GOP plan is an amendment to the Constitution mandating a balanced budget and requiring a three-fifths vote by both the House and the Senate to raise taxes. The Republicans expect to propose the measure in the first two or three days of the new session and to report it out of committee within two weeks. Originally offered in the House last year by Joe Barton (R., Tex.), the amendment may be co-sponsored in the Senate by Larry Craig (R., Idaho) and Connie Mack (R., Fla.). The legislation may also give the President a permanent line-item veto and new rescission authority.

What's more, enabling legislation will require a budget resolution that puts the deficit on a downward path, reaching zero by 2002, seven years from now. Not since President Reagan's budget for fiscal year 1983, submitted almost 13 years ago, has a proposal from either Congress or the White House avoided red ink even on paper. Top GOP budget staffers Rick May (House) and Bill Hoagland (Senate) hope the timetable will enhance the credibility of the amendment proposal and once and for all remove the deficit albatross from the Republican Party's neck. Also, a zero-deficit plan will be an in-your-face response to the tax-hike enthusiasts in the White House and the news media.

Aside from Social Security, which has been ruled off the table, the budget resolution will allow no sacred cows. The new congressional leadership believes the election returns show the public wants a radical restructuring of the Federal Government and reduction of its scope. Exit polling by Fabrizio/McLaughlin found that 68 per cent of voters favor smaller government and fewer services. Inefficient or unnecessary programs, commissions, agencies, even whole departments have to be downsized or eliminated. Entitlements will be curbed. Early estimates suggest Congress will need to find $1.5 trillion in spending cuts over seven years, assuming about $250 billion in tax cuts, to achieve a balanced budget.

Reaching that goal will mean deep cuts in discretionary spending, possibly including consolidation and reduction of social-service programs; cuts in foreign aid, highway demonstration projects, airport improvement grants, and mass-transit subsidies; and elimination of the space station, EPA sewage-treatment grants, Small Business Administration loans, rural-development loans and grants, impact aid, and the National Endowments for the Arts and the Humanities. Another source of savings could be consolidation of AFDC, food stamps, housing allowances, and other means-tested entitlements into a block grant that would be cut, capped, and turned over to the states. Congress will also consider ending welfare payments to unwed mothers above a certain age, implementing tough rules for workfare, and cracking down on deadbeat dads.

Farm subsidies are in big trouble, especially target prices, dairy supports, crop insurance, and export-enhancement programs, most of which go not to family farms but to large corporations. The Republicans will also be looking at Medicare and Medicaid reductions, including stringent new cost controls for the former and a rollback of Henry Waxman's expansions of the latter. Co-payments and state matching will have to be raised. And Congress should consider privatization of assets such as power marketing administrations, rural electrification plants (the dirty little secret is that the South now has electricity), and Western grazing areas.

Sweeping deficit cuts will generate huge debt-service savings over seven years, even more if the new Congress imposes a strict inflation target on the Federal Reserve, enforced by the sanction of resignation for the chairman. This would bring Treasury-bond yields down to 4 per cent, and the entire federal debt could be refinanced through long-term issues.

Economic growth, and therefore tax revenues, will be spurred by the tax cuts outlined in the Republican Contract with America. These include capital-gains cuts and indexing, neutral cost recovery for business investment, repeal of the tax on Social Security benefits, a $500-per-child tax credit, elimination of the marriage penalty, and expansion of IRAs. There is also

Mr. Kudlow is NR*'s economics editor.*

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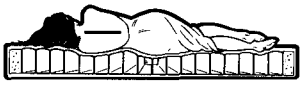

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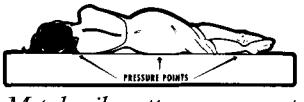

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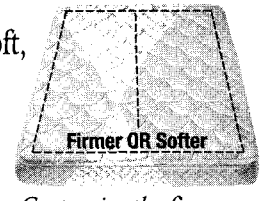

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the possibility of rolling back the Bush–Clinton income-tax hikes.

Given the likely impact of tax incentives, reduced spending, and lower interest rates, it is reasonable to assume an average of 3.2 per cent real GDP growth during the next seven years. This rate is more in line with the post-war trend than the sub-par 2.5 per cent projection now used by Congress. What's more, a more productive economy will increase the demand for money and reduce inflation pressures, which will help balance the budget.

Republicans will also seek changes in the Congressional Budget Office, putting an end to the "current services baseline." This accounting convention inflates future spending totals and enables members of Congress to claim a budget "cut" when in fact spending is simply going up at a slightly lower rate. Spending policies for each new budget will instead be based on the previous year's actual spending, just as in a business. CBO Director Robert Reischauer, whose term ends in January, will not be reappointed. Former Reagan budget officials Jim Miller, Tim Muris, and John Cogan are on the short list to replace him.

And the GOP Congress will take issue with the staff and the accounting machinery of the Joint Tax Committee (JTC), which has always denied that tax changes have any impact on incentives to work and invest or on decisions to shelter or hide taxable income. In contrast, Republicans believe that people respond to after-tax returns, taking more risks and working harder under lower tax rates, which thereby stimulate growth, while becoming more risk- and work-averse under higher tax rates, which thereby stifle economic growth.

Despite the fact that a lower capital-gains tax rate led to an explosion of innovation-related revenues in the early and mid 1980s, while the higher rate of 1986 produced a $250-billion shortfall in projected revenues by the early 1990s, the JTC staff stubbornly holds to its static analysis. But with Bill Archer (R., Tex.) taking over the House Ways and Means Committee and Bob Packwood (R., Ore.) returning to his 1981–87 post as chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, significant staff changes at the JTC will open the way for a more realistic, dynamic analysis of the relationship between tax policy and revenues.

All of this represents a very aggressive agenda, amounting to the most radical overhaul of federal policies since the New Deal. The Gingrich/Armey House leadership is a stronger force for radical reform than the Dole/Simpson Senate leadership. Fortunately, all money bills must originate in the House, which will set the fiscal tone. The Senate will follow, and both bodies will take the budget show on the road with public hearings across the country to ask for grass-roots suggestions. Governors, mayors, county executives, and others will be consulted.

Meanwhile, the Ted Kennedy/Jesse Jackson Democrats will be pulling the Clinton White House to the Left, encouraging a veto strategy. This leaves the Boll Weevil New Democrats, or what's left of them, to provide the resources for a veto-proof Congress.

The national tide has clearly turned toward less government and lower taxes, but the GOP had better translate the popular will into decisive legislation. Otherwise, the electorate that fired Bush in 1992 and the Democrats in 1994 will turn its wrath on the Republicans in 1996. □

Radio in Black and White

MINOO SOUTHGATE

NEW YORK CITY

'FOR the rawest, highest-rated bigotry in town—attacks on blacks, gays, even the elderly—tune in Bob Grant's afternoon drive-time show on WABC." Thus did *New York* magazine introduce its October 17 cover story by Philip Gourevitch. The piece described Grant's work on the air as "racist, alienated, bullying, embittered, hyperbolic—the white equivalent of gangster rap." Gourevitch accused Grant of bigotry (he called Haitian boat people "sub-human scum") and vulgarity (he called Bill Clinton a "sleazebag").

In a pretense of balance, the same issue of *New York* contained a piece on Conrad Muhammad, Louis Farrakhan's New York representative. Fatuously titled "My Anti-Semite," this "nuanced" piece pronounced Muhammad a "moderate" and the Nation of Islam "irrelevant to the future of Jewish America."

The contrast between *New York*'s treatment of Grant and of Muhammad reflects a general tendency on the Left to condemn white bigotry while minimizing or ignoring the black equivalent. The wider controversy that *New York*'s Grant article sparked is a striking example of this double standard.

The magazine interviewed Grant in June but did not publish the article until three weeks before the elections. A few days after the article appeared, a group of black New Jersey clergymen demanded of Governor Christine Whitman, for whom Grant had campaigned last year, that she denounce him, which she did, saying she would no longer appear on his show. Then Democratic Senator Frank Lautenberg challenged his opponent, conservative Chuck Haytaian—for whom Grant had been campaigning—to do likewise. Meanwhile, Jesse Jackson campaigned with Lautenberg in New Jersey, joined the black clergymen in condemning Grant, and called on Al Sharpton to organize a sponsors' boycott of Grant's show. Lautenberg, who is on the Senate's transportation subcommittee, pressured Amtrak to cancel its advertising on the show.

Grant has been called a racist for years, and not without justification. In a telephone interview, I read him a quote from his show: "We have in our nation . . . millions of sub-humanoids, savages, who really would . . . feel more at home careening along the sands of the Kalahari . . . people who . . . have not become civilized." He tried to explain the remark. "I use 'savages' to apply to a person's conduct, not their appearance," he said.

"But the reference to the Kalahari puts the 'sub-humanoids' in Africa," I noted.

"Well, it speaks for itself," he replied. "I said that." He called his language "unfortunate" and "unwise," adding that there is no bigotry in his heart.

So Grant's critics have a point. But they are curiously quiet about bigotry when it doesn't come from white conservatives. Fairness and Accuracy in

Miss Southgate is a freelance journalist based in New York.

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Reporting (FAIR), which joined the attack on Grant to advance its crusade against the "white, right-wing line-up" on talk radio, issued a press release citing dozens of Grant quotations it said "reveal a pattern of racial bigotry." FAIR called on "politicians and journalists to demonstrate a consistent standard on bigotry."

If only FAIR took its own words to heart. You don't see the organization monitoring bigotry on the notoriously hateful black radio stations WWRL and WLIB—both, like WABC, located in FAIR's home base of New York City. Hosts, callers, and guests on WLIB and WWRL (who have included Conrad Muhammad, Leonard Jeffries, and Steve Cokely) promote anti-white racism and anti-Jewish conspiracy theories. Yet FAIR senior analyst Steven Rendall appeared on WWRL to rail against Grant, Rush Limbaugh, and WABC. "We chose to look at ABC because it's the major flagship corporation," Rendall said. He also noted that Grant aids prominent Republicans: "Grant is a guy that D'Amato, Giuliani, and Christine Whitman called up to thank for his role in their successful election."

FAIR claims Grant incites violence, but it remains silent when WLIB talk-show host Clayton Riley puts white journalists on his hit list: "Man, there are some things I would like to say to John Taylor, but the FCC prevents us. . . . We talk about what Colin Powell said: 'You find the enemy, you isolate it, you kill it.' . . . OK, John Taylor, you're number two on the list. Jim Sleeper tops the list." Jim Naureckas, editor of the FAIR publication *Extra!*, told me FAIR has not called attention to such inflammatory statements because WLIB is a local station, and FAIR's focus is national. Rendall said FAIR has confronted anti-Semitism on the Pacifica radio network.

Other critics of Grant have an even more serious credibility problem. Jesse Jackson, who called Grant's comments "foul" and "divisive," has been known to use the terms "Jewboy," "Hymietown," and "kike." Jackson boasts of a "sacred covenant" with Farrakhan, and he is a WLIB shareholder and a frequent guest on the station. Sharpton, too, is an odd crusader against bigotry. As a candidate for the U.S. Senate, he accepted Farrakhan's endorsement and defended Khalid Muhammad, the Nation of Islam official whose racist and anti-Semitic remarks at Kean College caused a public outcry last year. "I agree with much of what [Muhammad] said," Sharpton declared. "He is a very articulate and courageous brother." Blasting black politicians who had denounced Muhammad, Sharpton vowed, "We're going to retire some of you Toms this year."

During his campaign, Sharpton participated in a WLIB program hosted by Gary Byrd. "You talk about mobsters!" Sharpton bellowed. "The real mobsters in our community often wear blue uniforms and carry nightsticks."

A listener identified as Brother Abdul called from Brooklyn to suggest that blacks "start shooting these cops. . . . Only then . . . when you start . . . blowing their brains out, will they understand."

"I'm sure everyone understands the feeling," said Byrd. "Brother Sharpton, how do you deal with this kind of situation?"

Sharpton did not exactly jump at the opportunity to condemn murder. "Whatever violence comes down," he said, "it has been incited by white police misconduct."

To expose the hypocrisy of Bob Grant's detractors is not to condone Grant's gratuitous offensiveness. And the publicity generated by the controversy may have done some good. Grant's ideology hasn't changed, but lately he has been challenging bigoted callers and watching his own choice of words. WWRL and WLIB might benefit from similar attention. Perhaps it's time for the professionally indignant to switch channels. □

Island Charm

RICH LOWRY

Roman Genn

WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE last time Susan Molinari held a leadership post in the Republican Party she received a taxpayer-financed $20,000 stipend and chauffeured car for her trouble. That was when Miss Molinari was "minority leader" of the New York City Council, responsible for managing the delicate give and take within the council's GOP ranks. Which, as it happened, consisted entirely of her, the council's sole Republican.

Mr. Lowry is NR*'s national political reporter.*

Now a congresswoman, Miss Molinari is making a bid to lead again, this time in a job that will bring neither the generous New York City perks nor the easy ideological sympathy between leader and flock that characterized her previous post. Miss Molinari is running in the December leadership elections for vice chairman of the House Republican Conference, an entry-level position that would nonetheless place her in the midst of House Republican decision-making. (Cliff Stearns, a Florida conservative, is her opponent.) That this Staten Island moderate could well break into a leadership dominated by hard-charging conservatives is testimony to her energy and force of personality.

Married to National Republican Congressional Committee Chairman Bill Paxon, a fellow New York congressman, Susan Molinari is the left half of the GOP's hottest power couple. This year on the campaign trail there were three House Republicans who were real draws: Newt Gingrich, Dick Armey, and Molinari/Paxon. The couple often campaigned as a team, projecting a young (she's 36, he's 40), even hip image. But Miss Molinari's appeal goes beyond her marriage.

On TV, she's the GOP's answer to Katie Couric. "Among political women today, she's probably the most media-

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genic, either party, any age," says Neal Freeman, chairman of the Blackwell Corporation. "If you're casting charming Republican women, where do you go if Christy Whitman is busy and Barbara Bush has retired? You go to Susan." And she's well-liked by colleagues. When Miss Molinari approaches a member on the House floor, it's as likely to be to trade stories as to bend his ear about something political. As one Hill observer puts it, Susan Molinari has less the demeanor of a congressman than of someone you'd share a beach house with.

All of which makes her a charming and able politician. But a Republican leader? The problem with Miss Molinari as leader is that she goes against the grain of today's GOP: in a Republican Party moving South, West, and right, she is a Northeasterner leaning left.

She represents the perpetually unhappy New York City borough of Staten Island, the most striking features of which are the Verrazano Narrows Bridge connecting it, via Brooklyn, to Manhattan (to which many Staten Islanders would rather not be connected at all); the Fresh Kills landfill; and the Molinaris, who try to protect it from the first two. Miss Molinari's father, Guy, built the Republican Party into a formidable force on the island, first as a state assemblyman, then as congressman, now as borough president. He left his congressional seat in 1990, in effect turning it over to his daughter, who won it handily in a special election.

If Staten Island is a far cry from Manhattan's liberal Upper West Side, neither is it a right-wing breeding ground. "Staten Island has very cozy politics, and the Molinaris are obviously products of it," says *New York Observer* reporter Terry Golway, who once dated Miss Molinari. "Their main concern is not ideology or ideas but keeping the status quo in the current power arrangements there."

If there's an issue Susan Molinari cares about deeply, it's abortion: she's pro-choice with a vengeance. She was one of four Republicans, for instance, to join 68 Democrats this June in signing a letter to House Speaker Tom Foley warning that "health-care reform that does not include coverage of abortion treats women as second-class citizens."

Miss Molinari's fervor about choice is part of a more general goo-goo feminism. She was a booster of the Gender Equity Act, provisions of which—including measures to promote gender equity in college sports—ended up scattered throughout the re-authorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA). (Miss Molinari's contribution was a provision allowing schools to spend federal dollars on gender-equity training for teachers.) She also signed on to the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA), the $1.6-billion portion of the crime bill that creates civil-rights penalties for violent crimes motivated by "an animus based on the victim's gender."

On the Education and Labor Committee, Miss Molinari has been a fairly reliable vote for the Democrats. The Republican representation on the committee is to the left of House Republicans generally, and Miss Molinari is to the left of most other Republicans on the committee. So while the committee's ranking Republican, moderate Bill Goodling (Pa.), was prodded into opposing the ESEA, which encouraged the worst trends in American education, Miss Molinari voted for it. When Dick Armey offered a school-choice substitute to Goals 2000, this year's other education boondoggle, Miss Molinari voted to kill it, one of 45 Republicans (out of 174) to do so. Looking at the vote another way, 41 out of 47 Republican freshmen voted for Armey's substitute, meaning Miss Molinari sided with the old guard.

INDEED, while Susan Molinari's image is cutting edge, her politics aren't. While she has generally been solid on fiscal issues, for instance, she likes her pork. (The latest: $2.5 million in federal money to renovate the Manhattan terminal of the Staten Island ferry—just the beginning of federal help on the project, she promises.) The Republican future on these issues looks more like Ernest Istook (Okla.), a freshman in the 103rd Congress, who last year voted against an appropriations bill that contained $21 million for a military base in his district that employs 1,300 civilians. As for the populist issues that motivate the trinity of big conservative grass-roots groups—the Christian Coalition, U.S. Term Limits, and the National Rifle Association—Miss Molinari is wrong on each one: she's a social liberal, she opposes term limits, and she voted for the Brady Bill and the assault-weapons ban.

Miss Molinari's high-profile performance on the crime bill this year was vintage Old Republican. She voted against considering the crime bill in August, helping deliver a stunning Republican victory. Then, after taking a pounding in the local New York media, she was one of four moderates designated by Newt Gingrich to negotiate with the Democrats. She was a bulldog in the talks, pulling relentlessly to restore her signature contribution to the Violence Against Women Act, a provision making it easier for judges to admit into evidence previous *unproved* allegations against defendants in sex-crime cases. Having restored this one page to an enormous bill, Miss Molinari voted for the still-phony crime bill, in keeping with traditional Republican bipartisan tactics: get an inch, give a mile.

Miss Molinari maintains she never would have undertaken the crime-bill negotiation "if it did not have the blessing and guidance of Newt Gingrich." That's surely right. But it highlights why her politics matter: Newt Gingrich isn't quite the partisan Terminator of media lore; he is a real person. Which means that when he and his colleagues are in the collegial setting of a leadership meeting, and one of those colleagues is a personable woman who is uncomfortable with the others' position, he isn't just going to brush her objections aside. In any case, leadership decisions don't work that way. So Susan Molinari could well exert a centerward pull on a Republican leadership that needs—now more than ever—to be aggressive and distinct from the Democrats during the next two years.

Why risk it? Susan Molinari is an asset to the GOP. She worked her heart out this fall, giving $130,000 to candidates and visiting 83 congressional districts in 35 states. Her husband helped engineer the Republican takeover of the House. But nothing in her record indicates that she would be as helpful at the leadership table as she is on the stump or the television screen. And the Republicans now have at least four freshly elected members, including Helen Chenoweth (Idaho) and Linda Smith (Wash.), who don't just look the part of the New Republican Woman, but think it as well. □

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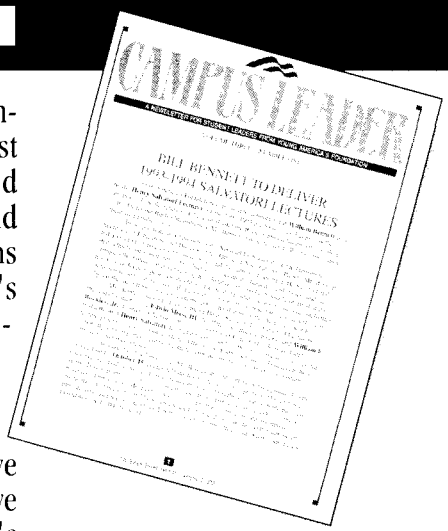

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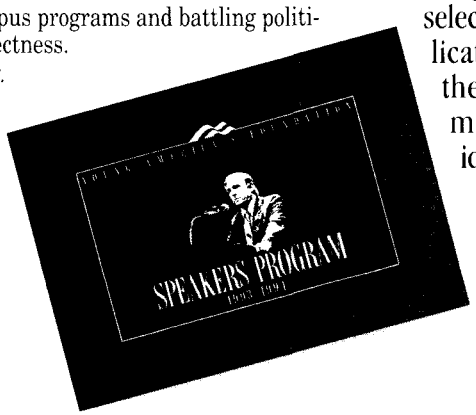

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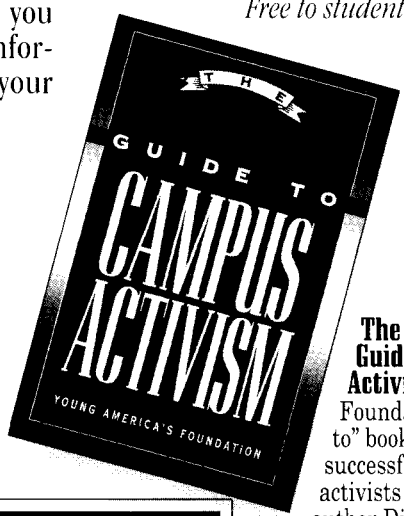

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RANDOM WALK

ALMOST all Wall Street economists are calling for sharp Federal Reserve interest-rate hikes to slow the economy and halt inflation. One dissenter is supply-side economist David Gitlitz, from the New Jersey–based firm Polyconomics, Inc. He notes that successive Fed-funds rate increases have not stopped the central bank from expanding its balance sheet and increasing Reserve Bank credit at an inflationary pace. Consequently, the dollar is too low and the gold price, at $385 an ounce, is too high. Given the 7.4 per cent annual rate of increase in intermediate-goods prices (excluding volatile food and energy) during the last three months and the 15.4 per cent rate for crude material goods, Gitlitz frets that inflation could reach 5 per cent before long.

The Fed is targeting the overnight Federal-funds rate used by banks when they buy and sell reserves in the New York money market. Gitlitz argues that when banks anticipate a higher Fed-funds rate in the near future, they simply step up their reserve purchases at today's lower rate. This increases the demand for bank reserves and bids up interest rates. Then, to maintain the original interest-rate peg, the Fed has to pump in *more* high-powered money. That process has fueled inflation all year.

What is to be done? First, Greenspan & Co. should let the overnight Fed-funds rate float according to open-market conditions. Second, the Fed should announce a $350 gold-price target, consistent with long-term price stability. Since the current gold price is 10 per cent too high, this suggests the Fed should be withdrawing money from the banking system, a move that would surely raise interest rates.

But Gitlitz warns the Fed "not to fight inflation with deflation." He would rather that the Fed take no action now and instead wait for Newt Gingrich to reduce the capital-gains tax rate. The tax cut will increase investment returns and thus raise the public's demand for liquidity (since money will become more useful), so the gold price might drift lower without any additional Fed restraint. In other words, new tax incentives create more goods, thereby curbing inflation.

If Greenspan finally comes out of the closet and links the Fed to gold, the Gingrich tax cuts will allow the Fed to redeem itself and save the economy from stagflation in 1995 and 1996. This is a big if. But it could spell the difference between a 5000 Dow and a 2800 Dow.

■ Another issue affecting the stock market is the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. In an unusual lame-duck session scheduled to begin December 1, Congress is expected to vote up or down on the matter.

Sources tell me that Gingrich has decided to support GATT, which includes significant trade-barrier relief and by some estimates would boost U.S. national income by $120 billion a year starting in 2005. But the actual legislative document has more than 11,000 pages, and it includes numerous special-interest favors, workers'-rights provisions, and environmental requirements that have no business in a trade bill. Moreover, as GATT turns into the World Trade Organization (WTO), there are serious questions about its impact on U.S. sovereignty.

"I'm bored. It's time to go back into battle. Prepare a list of most-savored nations."

Still, Gingrich has decided to end the internecine warfare among conservative groups that have split pro and con; he wants to get the whole issue out of the way in order to clear the deck for passage of the Contract with America. But he will insist on a five-year sunset provision for U.S. membership in the WTO (and the U.S. can, of course, act unilaterally at any time should it disagree with WTO policies).

But will the soon-to-be-unemployed Democrats support GATT? The unions are in a nasty mood, and the new minority party is demoralized, dismayed, and disorganized. If the Democrats prevent passage of GATT, the GOP will still get political credit for goodwill bipartisanship. But the world stock markets may suffer.

■ From Democratic congressional offices come the buzz of document shredding and the whirr of Xerox machines churning out résumés. Under the GOP Contract with America, one-third of congressional staff will be unceremoniously tossed out on the street the day Newt is sworn in as House Speaker. The *Washington Post* has been running a series of sorrowful tales of Capitol Hill patronage employees who've been collecting government paychecks for ten, twenty, and in some cases more than thirty years. Most of these lifelong anti-business crusaders face the dreaded prospect of having to get real jobs.

But where will they go? Democratic lobbying firms, trade associations, D.C. law firms, federal agencies, and much of the rest of the parasite economy will soon be in the unfamiliar situation of firing, not hiring. Dick Weiss of Strong/Corneluson says one early indicator of Republicans' commitment to taking the chain saw to government will be if housing prices fall in the Washington metro area. —GEKKO

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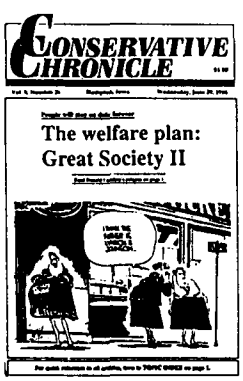

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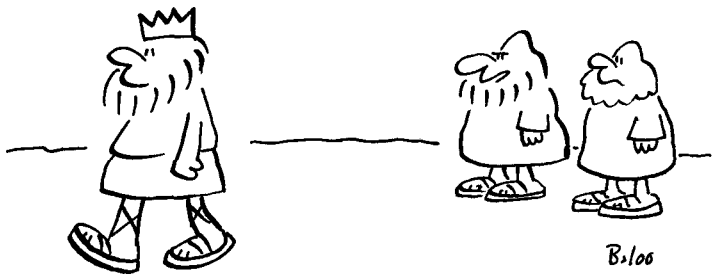
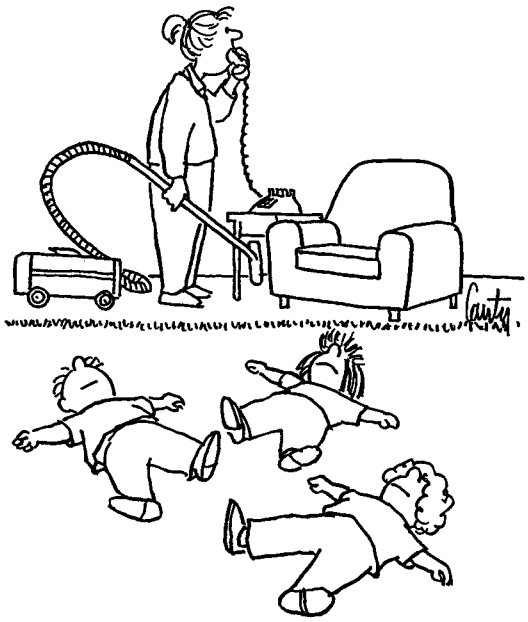
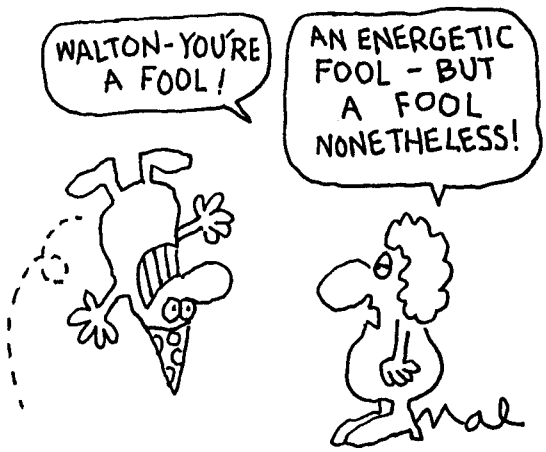


"King Solomon's gone too far this time! He wants to put goys in the military!"



"Time to vacuum, Sylvia. The kids are making dust angels in the rug."



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Senator Kerrey's Commission

As Alice Rivlin's memo still
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And turn Bill Clinton's ear lobes blue.

W. H. VON DREELE

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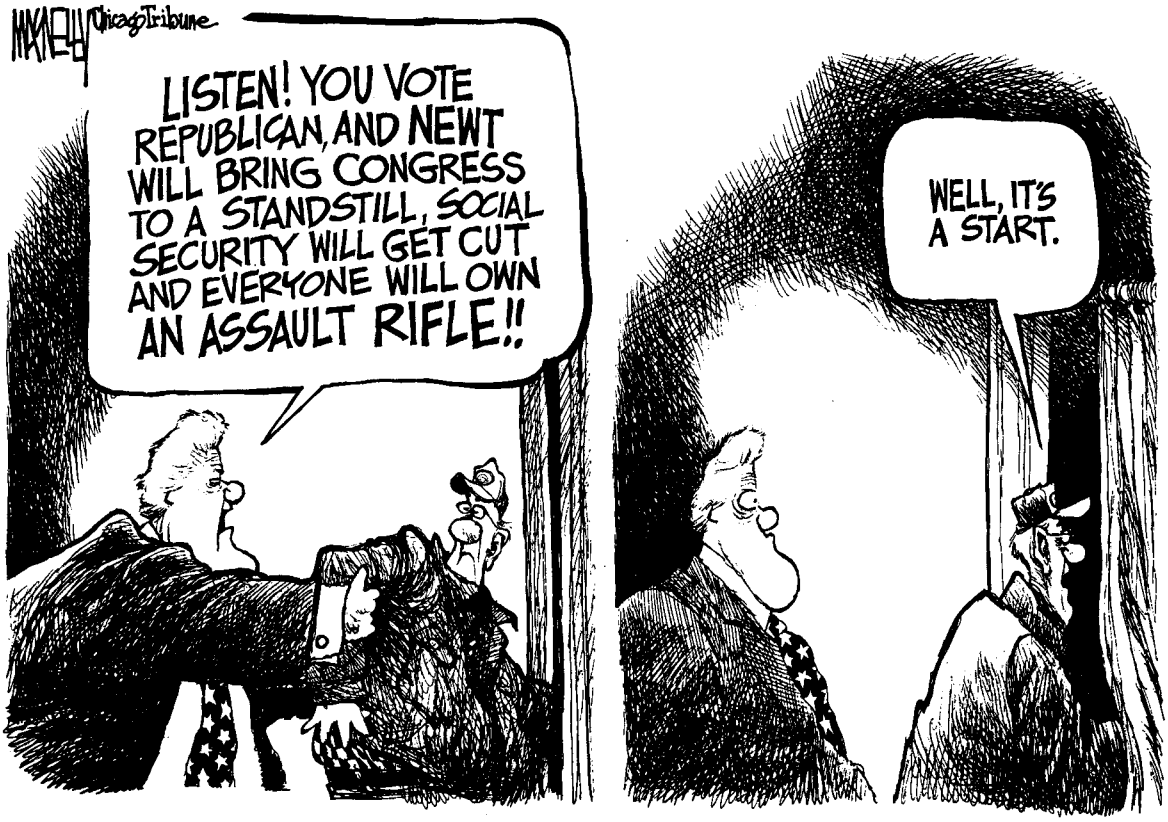
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The Bell Curve

A SYMPOSIUM

The biggest intellectual-literary brouhaha in many years was triggered in October by the long-awaited publication of The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life *(Free Press). Its authors, Harvard psychologist Richard J. Herrnstein (who died of lung cancer in September) and American Enterprise Institute scholar Charles Murray, had risked their substantial reputations by trespassing on the central taboos of modern liberalism: the relationships between intelligence and success, heredity, and race.*

The Bell Curve *is a long, complex, closely argued, immensely detailed book. It is inconceivable that all its loudest critics could have read it with care—indeed, it is often painfully apparent they have not. But the participants in this symposium have read the book attentively, and we believe their contributions to the debate will last.*

The central thesis of The Bell Curve *is simply stated: "Intelligence," vulgarly known as IQ, does exist. It can be measured. It matters enormously. It is substantially inherited. It varies among individuals. It also varies, on average, among races.*

This news is apparently astounding to liberal journalists (when they do not dismiss it as old news). But Herrnstein and Murray show that it is in fact the consensus among experts working in the field, away from political pressure.

The principal argument of the book, moreover, concerns not race but class. Thus Murray and Herrnstein note that the education system is increasingly efficient at skimming off the gifted into select colleges, where they are intermarrying and literally breeding a "cognitive elite." The great revolutionary upheavals of the modern era, as literacy unleashed the gifted poor, may be over. But areas like the central cities, increasingly deprived of an intelligent leavening, may decay further. For low intelligence seems to be linked to an amazing array of contemporary problems, including crime, poverty, illegitimacy, and welfare dependency. And this, Murray and Herrnstein tellingly show, can be seen when whites alone are considered.

Are these things true? And if so, do they mean that public policies such as affirmative-action quotas, social spending to prevent crime, and focusing on slow rather than gifted children are doomed to failure? Not surprisingly, America's liberal establishment does not want to address such questions. Our contributors do.

Common Knowledge

MICHAEL BARONE

PERHAPS because I'm congenitally optimistic, I think *The Bell Curve*'s message is already widely understood, by the American people if not by the elite. Ordinary citizens know that some people are in significant ways more intelligent than others, that only a relative few are extremely bright or extremely dull, and that intelligence bunches up at the center. They know that intelligence is not randomly distributed among members of different identifiable racial and ethnic groups. These are lessons that are taught in everyday life, and you have to undergo a pretty sophisticated indoctrination and enlist in a tightly disciplined ideological army to believe otherwise.

Of course, most of our university and media elite have signed up for those forces. They have done so, I think, because they believe that ordinary people would take the admission that there are differences in average intelligence among the races as a license for racial discrimination. They evidently believe that many or most Americans long to return to the system of legally enforced racial segregation that prevailed in the American South until the mid 1960s. But that is nonsense. Ordinary people understand quite well what Herrnstein and Murray, mindful of their elite audience, feel obliged to state explicitly: that differences in average intelligence among the races do not justify discrimination against or for individuals of those races. Ordinary people know—everyday experience makes it quite plain to them—that some blacks are extremely bright and some non-blacks are extremely dull. They know that it is not rational to discriminate by race.

The Bell Curve is not an argument for racial discrimination. It is an argument *against* racial discrimination, against the one form of racial discrimination that is sanctioned by university and media and government and corporate elites: racial preferences and quotas. It shows that the discipline of psychology supports the inference suggested by (to take a vivid example) the pre-

Mr. Barone is a senior writer at U.S. News & World Report *and co-author of* The Almanac of American Politics.

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ponderance of people of Chinese descent in mathematics departments: that abilities are not randomly distributed among different ethnic and racial groups. (If we assumed they were, we would have to suppose that an old boys' club of Chinese was plotting to keep the rest of us out of those math departments.) The case for racial quotas is that in a fair society desirable positions would be randomly distributed among all identifiable groups. Herrnstein and Murray confirm the ordinary citizen's intuition that this is absurd.

More specifically, by showing strong relationships between intelligence as measured by IQ tests and behaviors ranging from job performance to a propensity to commit crimes or bear children outside marriage, *The Bell Curve* makes a powerful case that the disproportionately low number of blacks in top positions and the disproportionately high number of blacks in prison (just under half our prisoners are black) do not result from racial discrimination. I hasten to add that, as a society and as individuals, we all have an obligation to remain alert to acts of individual unfairness, and we all have an obligation to do something about the continued existence of a criminal underclass, even though most of us are highly unlikely to be its individual victims. *The Bell Curve* does not deny, it affirms that nurture contributes importantly to intelligence; and just as we would have an obligation not to leave the Wild Boy of Aveyron in the woods, so we are obliged to do something (there is plenty of room to argue just what) to help those children fated to grow up in neighborhoods where the criminal underclass rules.

But it is quite another thing to say that statistical inequalities require racial preferences, radical social engineering, or economic redistribution, as the Left has long insisted. Will the elites get the message that *The Bell Curve* and the people are sending? Perhaps. The public response to the 1993 Clinton economic package made it clear the Democrats cannot raise taxes again. The response to the Clinton health-care plan made it plain that there is strong and enduring opposition to social engineering. And the 1994 election results prove that voters don't want more government.

Quotas remain a way of doing business for government and corporate elites and a way of asserting moral superiority for the university elite. But they are under attack in the courts, and anecdotal evidence suggests that elite institutions are quietly filling their minority places with high-scoring Asians rather than lower-scoring blacks. *The Bell Curve* argues to elites in their own language that the underpinnings of their regimes of racial preference are rotten. They are resisting the message and are not likely ever to admit it out loud. But it is possible that they will start behaving more the way sensible, ordinary people have been all along. □

Legacy of Racism

PAT SHIPMAN

HUMAN intelligence is an eel-like subject: slippery, difficult to grasp, and almost impossible to get straight. Charles Murray and the late Richard Herrnstein make a heroic attempt to lay before the public a topic of writhing complexity: the interaction of intelligence, class, and ethnicity in America. The authors have not succeeded wholly, either in presenting the information or in convincing this reader of their conclusions, but I must applaud them for the clarity and honesty of their attempt. Who else has had the audacity to try to teach a nation raised on factoids and ten-second sound bites to think in subtle terms of probabilities, correlations, and standard deviations?

The authors' conclusions are so unwelcome that many readers will find themselves, as I did, slogging slowly and carefully through each paragraph, poring over every footnote, making irritated notes to themselves to seek out this or that study from the original literature to satisfy their skepticism. The research that Herrnstein and Murray summarize is exquisitely sensitive to the way a question is framed, so that the thinking reader cannot coast for even a paragraph without paying attention. But in the end, it all comes down to three questions: What do they say? Is it true? What should we do now?

Through summaries of myriad studies, the authors paint a vivid picture of the dark side of the American dream. The United States is the country of immigrants, the country where (at least in theory) name and family mean nothing and personal accomplishment is all. You can come to America with nothing, work hard, and rise to the top. This, Murray and Herrnstein show convincingly, is true *if* you are smart (and if, not incidentally, you are white). The consolidation of this meritocracy throughout this century has produced a class of smart, powerful, and wealthy individuals—the "cognitive elite"—who enjoy life at the high end of the bell curve.

But the shadowy inverse, rarely seen clearly, is also true: if you are not smart, you will fall to the bottom. The book tolls funereally, in chapter after careful chapter, ringing out the stunning relationship between low IQ and the tendencies to perform poorly in school; drop out of school; live in poverty; become dependent on welfare; bear children out of wedlock; go to jail; hold, perform badly at, and often lose menial jobs; achieve only a low socio-economic status; earn little money; maintain households that score poorly in factors important in nurturing children; and even suffer disabilities that prevent working altogether. The land of golden opportunity inevitably offers the chance to fail abjectly as well.

In the latter part of the book, Herrnstein and Murray present the fearsome possibility that cognitive class and race are now coincident. They report data that, as a population, African-Americans have a bell curve of IQ scores that is shifted to the lower side of the white

Dr. Shipman, a paleoanthropologist, is the author of The Evolution of Racism *(Simon & Schuster).*

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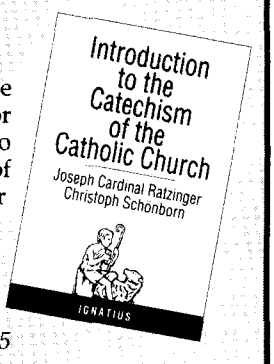

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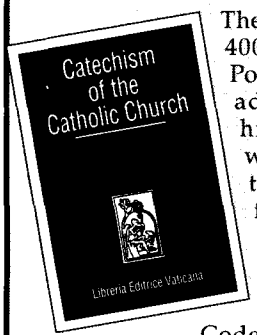

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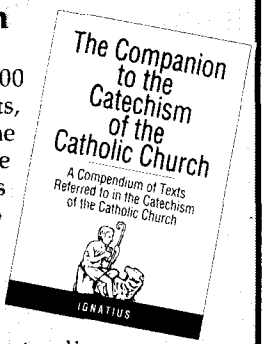
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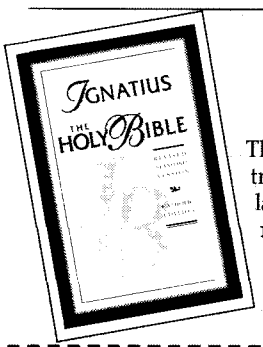

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mean. So do Africans, while East Asians have a bell curve of IQ scores shifted slightly to the right of the white curve. The authors are quick to observe that this does *not* mean that all blacks are stupider than all whites; there are many highly intelligent African-Americans who perform as well as or better than their white counterparts on the various measures of achievement. Indeed, one of the brightest points in the book is the demonstration that the average annual incomes of blacks, Latinos, and whites of the same IQ fall within a few hundred dollars of each other. But there seem to be disproportionately more blacks at the lower end of the bell curve and thus disproportionately more caught in poverty, ignorance, helplessness, and depression. Furthermore, considerable data indicate that those at the lower end of the IQ scale, regardless of race, are breeding faster than those at the top. We seem trapped in a downward spiral of ever-increasing stupidity.

Having sounded the death knell, Herrnstein and Murray do not abandon their readers to this vision of doom. Since they find eugenics an abhorrent policy, they suggest we revise the affirmative-action laws to reap the economic benefits of a more intelligent and more productive work force; find a "valued place" and useful occupations for those who are not very smart; strengthen the bonds of community responsibility and interdependence by reintegrating the cognitive elite into the rest of society; and encourage breeding among the cognitive elite so that the intelligence of our nation as a whole is not swamped by the fertility of the less intelligent.

But is it true? Do the data Herrnstein and Murray report about black IQ support their conclusions about black intelligence?

Underlying their thesis are two crucial issues. First is the premise that intelligence—of whatever it may consist—can be measured accurately and reliably by various tests, including the familiar IQ test. Herrnstein and Murray discuss the debates over psychometric testing fairly and clearly, and conclude that IQ and other such measures do reflect the elusive quality or qualities we label "intelligence." This point is the basis for the authors' compelling argument for the existence of a cognitive elite and its dark twin. The second issue is the heritability of intelligence. Heritability does *not* mean the extent to which a particular trait, such as intelligence, is genetically determined. Rather, heritability is the faithfulness with which a trait's measured expression (or phenotype, like IQ) mirrors the underlying genetic basis (or genotype). Heritability is always time- and population-specific, which is why the heritability of intelligence in studies ranges from .4 to .8 (out of a maximum possible of 1.0). Some populations have a genuinely higher heritability for intelligence than others, which renders cross-population comparisons of IQ and its correlates problematic (as the authors know).

The point is that the value assigned to heritability indicates the amount of the variation in measured intelligence that can be explained by genetic factors; heritabilities of .4 to .8 thus explain from a modest 40 per cent to a robust 80 per cent of the observed variations in IQ within the samples studied. Statistically, both values may be highly significant, if the sample sizes are large enough. Yet even a heritability of .8 leaves a substantial portion of the variance in intelligence to be attributed to something non-genetic.

If African-Americans have a lower heritability for intelligence, then their IQ scores are more heavily influenced by non-genetic factors. The authors reject the hypothesis that the mean IQ differences between blacks and whites are caused solely by environmental differences, commenting: "The *average* environment of blacks would have to be at the 6th percentile of the distribution of environments among whites, and the *average* environment of East Asians would have to be at the 63rd percentile of environments among whites, for the racial differences to be entirely environmental." This is the crux of the issue: *Could the prejudicial treatment of blacks in America during the last two hundred years have been so crippling as to produce a downshift of the mean IQ by some 15 points?* I find this thesis more plausible than do the authors, especially since most of the legislation outlawing racial discrimination is only about thirty years old. Little more than one generation ago, life was deeply different for blacks and whites in America, and social changes follow legislation slowly.

The issue cannot be resolved yet, but it deserves to be grappled with thoughtfully. I think Herrnstein and Murray missed an opportunity to examine the potential effects of prejudice on IQ and the other measures discussed here. They might have taken the circumstance of women and IQ as one way of establishing the *pattern* of changes that can be wrought by socialization. The advantage of looking at male–female differences (rather than racial or ethnic ones) is that men and women of the same racial background share the same gene pool; because it takes one of each sex to make a child, it is difficult to imagine how genes for high intelligence could become segregated in one sex or the other.

Today, it is acceptable and even admirable for white girls to be smart in school—at least until the age of 12 or 13, when school performance and girls' self-confidence plummet. In some segments of contemporary American society, females are encouraged to perform well all the way through college, with the critical drop-off point coming when the educated young woman wishes to enter graduate or professional school or obtain a job. The potency of the effect of discrimination over time can be seen by taking as an example the Johns Hopkins Medical School, a highly competitive professional school that trains many of the leaders of academic medicine in America. At its founding in 1892, the institution reluctantly agreed to admit women into every class on an

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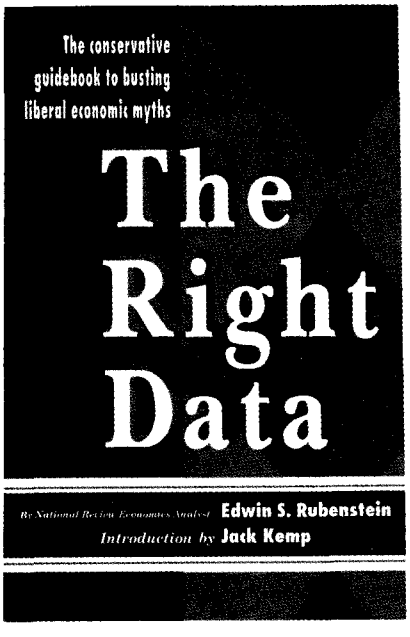
Darkness reigned. For although the deeds of the man known as Reagan had brought labor and plenty for the multitudes, his enemies fell to envy. And the liberal politicians swore oaths and cast aspersions on his deeds, and plotted revenge. And liberal economists sowed lies and deceptions among the multitudes. And the multitudes were confused.

But there came forth light from the pages of the magazine known as *National Review*, beloved by many for its wisdom. And the light which it brought forth blinded the legions of deception, and shone on the truth of the decade known as the Eighties. And bearing witness to the truth was the man known as Edwin S. Rubenstein, the Economics Analyst of *National Review*, who smote the liberal lies in his column "Right Data." And bearing further witness to the truth was "The Real Reagan Record," which was brought forth to much acclaim, but for the evildoers, who cursed it, and which set right the deeds of the man known as Reagan. And the editors of the magazine known as *National Review* saw the multitudes hunger for the economic truth on taxation, welfare, health care, income distribution, the deficit, federal spending, government regulations, and more. And they saw the multitudes yearning for deliverance from the economic deceptions that fell from the mouths of liberals.


The conservative guidebook to busting liberal economic myths
The Right Data
By National Review Economics Analyst Edwin S. Rubenstein
Introduction by Jack Kemp

And the editors of the magazine known as *National Review* gathered up all the works of the man known as Rubenstein, and had him collect hundreds of charts and graphs that spoke with clarity on the many issues on which the multitudes yearned for truth. And the man known as Rubenstein did thus, and he called his charts and graphs "Raw Data." And to these things was joined "The Real Reagan Record."

And the editors of the magazine known as *National Review* brought forth these things as a book, which measured over 400 pages, unto which the man known as Jack Kemp, the one detested by the tax collectors, offered an Introduction. And it was pleasing to the eye, and the laymen rejoiced because its words of truth were easy to understand and smote the wicked economic distortions of the liberals. And they called the book ***The Right Data***, and they sold it for $14.95, which was a savings of $3.00 off the cover price. And the multitudes declared the book affordable. And the critics sung its praises. And the editors of the magazine known as *National Review* proclaimed it to be a wonderful gift idea, which ***The Right Data*** is. And the liberal economists, the politicians, and the tax collectors hurled epithets and plucked at their beards and ground their teeth as they cursed the light that emanated from ***The Right Data***. But the light reigned.

And those with wisdom will be not sore afraid but will act with haste and use the form below and order ***The Right Data***. For Lo! they will rejoice in its truth and marvel at its wondrous deeds.

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Yes, please send unto me _____ copies of ***The Right Data***, so that I may see the liberal distortions about Ronald Reagan's economic policies torn asunder and leveled as a valley. I understand that the total cost per book is $17.95, which is the sum of the special sale price of $14.95 plus a charge of $3.00 per book to cover the shipping and handling costs. I enclose total payment of $ _____. Please send my copies of this important book to:

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equal footing with men—on pain of repaying a large financial contribution (plus accumulated interest) to a group of Baltimore women if the school ever failed in this undertaking. Yet not until 1994 did Hopkins Medical School have an entering class that was 50 per cent (indeed slightly over 50 per cent) female. Of the full professors at Hopkins who will teach this incoming class, only 11 per cent are female: an indication of the environment for bright women who entered the system twenty to thirty years ago. Progress was very slow for the first ninety-odd years of Hopkins's history, accelerating rapidly in the last decade.

Data in *The Bell Curve* trace the outlines of a pattern of discrimination. The mean IQ score for females is about 2 points lower than for males (versus the 15 points that recurs in black–white comparisons), and the variance of scores—the scatter around the mean—is more restricted in females than in males. This suggests that part of the bell curve of female scores has been truncated; given the lower mean score, a reasonable hypothesis is that the upper end of the bell curve has been cut off. The correlates of IQ are also distorted by discrimination. Although IQ correlates highly with job status, job performance, and income among white males and working women, the correlation becomes meaningless with the inclusion of women throughout the range of IQ who are unemployed or denied employment.

Discrimination against blacks in America, until very recently, has been far stronger and more pervasive than that leveled at women, and its effects can be expected to be more dramatic. While the brightest and most determined blacks have succeeded—as have the brightest and most determined women—there has surely been a cost to everyone else. It will take further insightful analysis to determine just how great that cost has been. By opening the discussion and daring to educate their readers, Herrnstein and Murray have set the stage for such work.

As *The Bell Curve* suggests, whether low intelligence is fostered by genetic inheritance or nurtured by a culture of poverty, it is nonetheless passed from generation to generation. Herrnstein and Murray make some brave and radical suggestions, presented out of a genuine sense of responsibility and a fervent hope for a better future than the one our current policies will produce. Their prognosis is one we must take seriously, whether or not we accept their interpretations of the IQ data; and their prescription for social change, though daunting, is one we must listen to carefully. Ask not for whom *The Bell Curve* tolls; it tolls for all of us. □

Not Hopeless

ERNEST VAN DEN HAAG

IN 1971 Richard Herrnstein, co-author with Charles Murray of this weighty volume, published an article in *The Atlantic Monthly* arguing that success—status, income, power—now depends on intelligence. We are becoming a "meritocracy" with great hereditary inequalities. *The Bell Curve* lucidly organizes an immense amount of data demonstrating empirically that, despite costly efforts to stave it off, meritocracy is becoming a reality. Before continuing, let me dispose of two distractions which have produced hysterical and silly columns—e.g., in *The New Republic* (unexpected) and the *New York Times* (expected); although, to be fair, elsewhere the *Times* was rational.

1. *The Bell Curve* shows that cognitive ability measured by IQ tests reliably predicts success—professional, academic, pecuniary—and that, on average, African-Americans have an IQ about 15 points below that of Caucasians, whose IQ, in turn, is lower (by about 5 points) than that of East Asians. Success differs accordingly. However, the point would be the same if all low- and high-IQ persons were Caucasians. Ethnic differences in IQ cause political complications but do not otherwise affect the hereditary social stratification described and predicted by *The Bell Curve*. (Incidentally, why should anyone expect all ethnic groups to have the same average IQ? Why not the same skin color?)

2. The authors establish the predictive validity of IQ tests for all groups and estimate that 60 per cent of the variation in measured intelligence is due to genetic differences, which means that nearly half of the variation depends on environmental factors. The proof of this point seems fairly conclusive, based on identical twins separated at birth and on adopted children. Yet if intelligence depended exclusively on environmental influences, if it were entirely an acquired trait, that would hardly make a difference. We have no way of influencing the average cognitive ability of any group, regardless of whether it depends on environmental or genetic factors. Whatever other benefits they may yield, Head Start and similar schemes do not permanently raise the IQ of disadvantaged groups. Perhaps in the future we will find a way to increase cognitive ability genetically or environmentally. So far we have not. Thus it matters little whether the cognitive ability of groups is inherited or acquired. (Needless to say, there may be a genius within a low-IQ group and dolts within a high-IQ group; what applies to averages does not apply to individuals.)

Without distractions, what does *The Bell Curve* tell us? Past societies have offered very unequal opportunities and, linked to them, very unequal outcomes. Education was distributed unequally, depending on parental status. So was everything else. Individual status was ascribed rather than achieved. Little depended on intelligence, much on inherited status and wealth. This has changed. Opportunity has become more and more equal, inherited social privileges less and less important. College education is widely distributed, and the

Mr. van den Haag, a retired psychoanalyst, was John M. Olin Professor of Jurisprudence and Public Policy at Fordham University.

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GATT: True or False?

❶ GATT means freer trade.
☑ False.
The World Trade Organization - the international enforcement arm of the GATT treaty - will not lead to freer trade. In fact, the written preamble to the WTO explicitly states the role of WTO will be to *manage world trade.*

❷ The WTO will not compromise U.S. sovereignty.
☑ False.
By joining the WTO, the United States will surrender it's sovereignty to *122 foreign governments.* The WTO has the authority to overrule the laws of member nations. The U.S. will have no veto and no appeal.

❸ The WTO is a fair, impartial body.
☑ False.
The majority of WTO's 122 member nations are 3rd world and dictator led countries, with a long history of opposition and hostility to the U.S. These countries will rule on American laws and economic interests, levying massive fines and sanctions if we do not comply.

❹ The U.S. will enjoy prominence in the WTO.
☑ False.
The U.S. will have one of 122 votes. We can be out-voted by Castro's Cuba, or by the tiny Island nation of St. Kitts. The U.S. can be out-voted 12 to 1 by Europe, 20 to 1 by Asia, 30 to 1 by Africa, *out-voted by 18 different countries with populations of less than one million people.*

❺ GATT won't cost us money.
☑ False.
While the U.S. has only 1 vote of 122, the *U.S. will pay 20% of all costs.*

❻ GATT won't bust the budget.
☑ False.
Over the first five years of GATT alone, the U.S. will *lose more than $12 billion in revenue.* And GATT will *add $30 billion to our federal deficit.*

❼ GATT doesn't favor special interests.
☑ False.
GATT contains a *$2 billion* special price break on wireless communications licenses for the politically well-connected like the *Washington Post*, and Hollywood special interests. It also gives a $200 million windfall to a prominent international financier.

❽ GATT won't harm senior citizens.
☑ False.
GATT *will eliminate the interest rate floor* on U.S. savings bonds, a favorite investment of millions of senior citizens. GATT will also change patent laws to make it virtually impossible to market generic drugs, which now save seniors millions of dollars each year.

☑ True:
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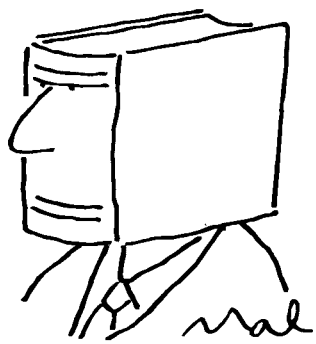
best colleges are available to the talented poor. By now, intelligence on the average predicts outcomes better than parental privilege.

Liberals believed that, once opportunity was equal, outcomes would become equal too: they thought unequal outcomes were due largely to unequal opportunities. However, Herrnstein and Murray show conclusively that inequalities won't disappear. This may account for the liberal media's rancorous reception of *The Bell Curve*. Individuals are born not as *tabulae rasae*, as many liberals believe, but with different intelligences, which produce very unequal outcomes.

Equal opportunity redistributes social inequalities but does not diminish them. It may increase them. God is not an egalitarian, much as Jefferson thought it "self-evident" that He is. People are born unequally gifted. If they have equal opportunity to use their unequal gifts, major social inequalities are unavoidable.



These inequalities may be augmented because people usually marry others with similar IQs. The poor transmit their low IQs and therewith their poverty. Their fertility exceeds that of the more intelligent and produces a permanent and growing underclass. Unwed mothers have low IQs on the average and provide environments not likely to help their children. They help to perpetuate the underclass. Criminals also come from low-IQ groups. With our egalitarian ideology we will have major social problems with the increasing inherited inequalities predicted. Their congruence with ethnic groupings will accentuate political problems.

The data Herrnstein and Murray provide are convincing, but I do have reservations about their more speculative inferences. People with low IQs will not be left hopeless, as they imply. Many kinds of socio-economic success are independent of intelligence. A low-IQ youth may become a baseball player or a pop singer and do better than any professor. A low-IQ girl may become a supermodel. Such careers require neither stupidity nor intelligence. Sure, the (non-IQ) talents needed for these careers are rare and, therefore, such outcomes are statistically insignificant. But psychologically they generate hope, just as lotteries do. Success is possible, if not probable, for the low-IQ individual. Further, even those confined to the lowest jobs need not dwell in misery. In any future society practically all can be reasonably comfortable regardless of talent (unless they are highly self-destructive). The prediction of *The Bell Curve* that people with low IQs have to become wards of the government is rank speculation. We cannot predict future social policies and conflicts. Remember Karl Marx?

In any case, the structure of a future society does not really tell us how people will feel about it. The authors mention that intelligence is only one factor in prestige or self-esteem; but they hardly note that, in most high schools currently, intelligence is a negative factor, athletic ability (or attractiveness) a positive one in prestige and self-esteem. I do not know whether people in a future society will go far beyond these high-school evaluations. Will mathematicians be esteemed more and will they earn more than former high-school athletes?

The authors rightly commend individualism as an answer to group dissatisfactions based on low IQs and low success. Yet "affirmative action" and similar anti-individualist capers show that neither liberal politicians, nor bureaucrats, nor the favored groups want individualism. It would take another volume to explore why they have prevailed. Will they in the future? Charles Murray is just the man to explore this question. □

Going Public

RICHARD JOHN NEUHAUS

RICHARD HERRNSTEIN I never knew, but Charles Murray is a friend and a delightfully good fellow. After reading carefully this brilliant book, I regret that I must say it is mischievous and naïve, and may do a great deal of damage to causes that Charles, I, and most readers of this magazine hold dear.

The book tells us much that is important and troubling about the stratification of American society along lines of cognitive ability. It might have provoked a needed debate on merit and equality in American life, and it may still do so. I think it probable, however, that such questions will be eclipsed by yet another rancorous disputation over race, from which nobody will come out ahead.

The statistical data on which the book bases its conclusions about the cognitive differences between whites and blacks are impressive. And, since it would seem to be nearly impossible for anybody to prove the contrary, one can, for argument's sake, stipulate that some differences do exist, more or less, and for reasons that have to do with, in whatever balance, both nature and nurture. It comes as no news that, in terms of life chances, it is generally better to be smart than to be dumb. And I expect that few people in any of the pertinent groups will be surprised by the suggestion that, as a generality, whites are smarter than blacks, Asians are smarter than whites, Jews are smarter than gentiles, and so on.

Intellectual mischief—questioning the taboos, suggesting the emperor has no clothes—can be fun. And it can be destructive. Society depends upon taboos and interdictions. Kindness is no limp or expendable virtue. Blacks will be hurt and infuriated by this book. White

Father Neuhaus is editor-in-chief of First Things: A Monthly Journal of Religion and Public Life.

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End of the Migration Era—Time for a Moratorium

If the grass is always greener on the other side, then a quick glance at our daily papers tells us that, for an awful lot of people worldwide, the grass they covet grows in the United States. Never before in the history of this nation have so many people wanted to move here. Never before have we faced so many difficult choices in deciding who, out of millions of basically nice folks, we will allow to enter. A storm is brewing. The differential pressure inside and outside our borders has left the nation vulnerable to unregulated surges of people seeking our shores.

This acute pressure can only grow in intensity. Any loophole in our immigration processes, any opportunity for exploitation or illegal border crossing, will produce uncontrolled waves of immigrants. This may seem hard to believe, but recently, the United Nations named 17 countries as "potential Somalias," or nations that could face collapse, including Mexico, Egypt, Nigeria and Algeria. In each nation or region, we see similar phenomena—a breakdown of civil order and a large, growing, poorly-educated and dissatisfied population in danger of starvation. Civil war, separatist movements, generalized civil and social breakdown—each produce large refugee flows.

Why do we need immigration?

- **Do we need more people? Are we underpopulated?**
- **Is there an acute labor shortage in the U.S.?**
- **Are the water tables in Florida, California and Texas flooded?**
- **Is there an excess of prime farmland in America?**
- **Is there too much wildlife in our national parks?**
- **Is there an overabundance of beach front property to be developed?**
- **Do we need immigration to improve public education?**
- **Do we need immigration to reduce crime in America?**
- **Do we need immigration to improve medical care?**
- **Are there too many acres of wetlands in need of paving?**
- **Are we too homogeneous to be a legitimate nation?**
- **Does our national security depend, in any way, on significant immigration?**

FAIR believes the answer to each of these questions is no. If we don't need immigration, why have it? The answer seem to be perceived tradition and habit. Is this how we want to form national policies?

Polls show most Americans want immigration reduced, and FAIR thinks the nation could use a moratorium or "time-out" on immigration for a while.

We must have a better plan in the future. We must have a better understanding now. We need to understand that the age when international migration could solve human problems is over for the overwhelming majority of mankind. Our role must be to try to help people improve conditions where they are, within our capacity as a nation. If we and the other developed nations are to control our own destinies and respective national security, then we must recognize that most people around the world will have to "bloom where they're planted."

by Dan Stein, Executive Director

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racists, of which there are not a few in our society, will relish it. Does this mean that we should prefer the untruth that keeps the peace to the truth that disturbs it? Of course not. But why was it so urgent to speak this truth, if it is truth, about racial differences in cognitive functioning? Why was it necessary to speak it in a way that—and surely the authors knew this—would make it the center of the discussion of their work? Especially when they conclude that there is little or nothing that can be done to narrow the cognitive gap among races? What, then, are we supposed to talk about? How unfortunate it is that blacks, all in all, are not as smart as the rest of us?

But people are already talking that way in private, the authors say. It is time to bring the subject out of the closet. Why? There are lots of things, very important things, that people discuss in private but not in public. The distinction between private and public is an important achievement of civilization. It was the crazy Left that tried to erase that boundary with its sloganeering about the personal being the political, and vice versa. There is an astonishing naïveté in the suggestion that we should have a nice, polite national conversation about the alleged cognitive inferiority of blacks. America is not an academic seminar limited to a few utterly dispassionate and socially disengaged intellectuals interested only in "the truth."

We live in the United States of America, which, from its constituting compromise on white slaveholding, has been racked and nearly brought to ruin by conflicts inextricably related to race. The truth is that we are not capable of having a civil conversation on the question posed. We live in a world of limits, and we can live with that limitation, too. The incapacity can be embraced as an interdiction. So we won't make the alleged cognitive inferiority of blacks a subject of public discussion. What of it? Nothing is lost. No truth is denied, no untruth told. The authors give us no compelling reason for having such a public discussion, and there are compelling reasons for not having it. There are many other matters on which public debate should be generated, matters about which we can do something. But now there will probably be a long and bitter debate over the alleged cognitive inferiority of blacks, about which, if the allegation is true, little or nothing can be done.

It is said that the book renders a service by putting to rest the common charge that racial inequities are caused by white racism. Not racism but IQ is to blame. This is not compelling. There are ample studies demonstrating the connection between individual behavior and doing poorly in life, as there are ample studies showing the dramatic decline in white racism. There is no need to play the IQ card.

Of course, there are those who think it is true that blacks are cognitively inferior, and who think a great deal can be done about it. How delicately it was put by Malcolm Browne, science reporter at the *New York Times*, in an essentially favorable review of the book: "Still, one suspects that the authors . . . may have softened their agendas somewhat to parry the expected fury of liberal critics, fellow academics, and hostile mobs. Given their conclusions about intellect and demographics, it is hard to believe that these writers would oppose a eugenically motivated program designed to influence patterns of reproduction." Improving the racial stock, it used to be called. And of course, as history tells, there was a rather dire downside for those who were a drag on eugenic ambitions. Unlike Mr. Browne, I find it very easy to believe that Herrnstein opposed and Murray opposes such eugenic programs, and vigorously so. But why did they not see how they would make it very hard for Malcolm Browne and many others to believe that?

The book opposes affirmative action. There are powerful arguments against affirmative action that do not require any reference to IQ and race. The programs the authors criticize are unjust to all, demeaning of blacks, hostile to the American view of individual effort and reward, and politically inflammatory. Talk about the cognitive inferiority of blacks adds nothing to these reasons for opposing affirmative action. In fact, the belief that inferiority is genetically based may inspire the opponents of equality of opportunity to support *stronger* programs of affirmative action to assure equality of result.

Similarly, the authors' case against existing immigration practices does not require reference to IQ and ethnicity. For instance, admissions could be based on proven skills and employability rather than on relationship, however distant, to someone already here. The book's criticisms and suggestions regarding public policy are generally sound. It is a shame that they will be lost because of the authors' perversely puckish injection of comparative group IQ ratings.

There are other problems with *The Bell Curve*, such as the isolation of the IQ variable from other factors that many studies suggest are equally strong or stronger indicators of social behavior and life outcomes. About some variables related to behavior something can be done, beginning with challenging those who indulge in such behavior. By the authors' own admission, little or nothing can be done about IQ. Now the connection between IQ and race has become the central question, and that can only rekindle a strife that is always smoldering in American life. The authors could have made the arguments they wanted to make in a very different way, without denying a bit of the truth that needs to be told. Unless, of course, the cognitive inferiority of blacks is among the arguments they really wanted to make. But I refuse to believe that is the case.

A word to conservatives. The race question has bedeviled varieties of conservatism for a very long time. For conservatives to think that it is to their advantage to seize upon the race factor in *The Bell Curve* would be very dumb. It would also be very, very wrong. □

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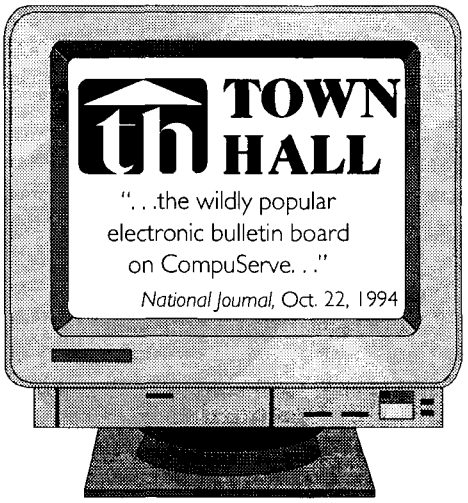

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Living with Inequality

EUGENE D. GENOVESE

RICHARD HERRNSTEIN and Charles Murray might not feel at home with Daniel Patrick Moynihan and Lani Guinier, but they should. However vast the differences between Mr. Moynihan's ill-fated report on the black family, Miss Guinier's remarkable attempt to resurrect Calhoun's concurrent majority, and the message of *The Bell Curve*, they have all been brave attempts to force a national debate on urgent matters that will not go away. And they have met the same fate. Once again academia and the mass media are straining every muscle to suppress debate. That the liberal and radical Left is doing so in the name of multicultural diversity merely proves that, contrary to the ignorant complaints of right-wingers, the Left does have a sense of humor—of sorts.

The *New York Times* has led the way. The editors, apparently appalled that their usually PC Sunday *Book Review* treated *The Bell Curve* fairly, immediately launched a day-by-day campaign on their op-ed page, in their letters-to-the-editor column, and in their own editorial space—a campaign marked not so much by gross distortion, puerile reasoning, and "McCarthyite" slander as by flagrant lying about the contents of the book.

So what else is new? But they may well accomplish their objective if conservatives and others committed to the rational discussion of burning issues rise to the defense of this thoughtful, challenging, and deeply flawed book by papering over its grave weaknesses, its carelessness, and its self-defeating tendencies. If the debate becomes polarized in that fashion, *The Bell Curve* may sell well, but its honorable larger purpose will be defeated.

The Bell Curve has much to offer. Its excellent analysis of the transformation of the American elite deserves high praise and a many-sided elaboration and critique, as do its cautious and modest proposals for reforms that, happily, do not fit any particular ideological pigeonhole. And the authors get three cheers for their ruthless exposure of the powers that be who cynically preach anti-elitism while they practice a sinister elitism that assaults our family life, educational institutions, and political culture. Whether we can build on the constructive efforts of *The Bell Curve* will depend heavily on our willingness to separate wheat from chaff and, especially, to challenge the book's incoherent treatment of race.

For incoherent it is. Herrnstein and Murray begin by rejecting "race" as a category that will not stand scientific analysis—as a category at best useless and at worst pernicious. They then go on for more than eight hundred pages to explore the ramifications of the category they have rejected. They use sleight of hand, speaking throughout of "ethnicity." Well then, why do they lump all blacks together? Where, apart from a few inadequate and unhelpful remarks, do we find an examination of the ethnic differences *among* blacks in, say, performance on IQ tests? And the same criticism could be extended to the treatment of whites, not all of whom might respond to other comparisons with the equanimity they show for comparisons involving blacks. Personally, I am pleased to be told that blacks are not as smart as Sicilians, but I would not recommend that anyone try to tell me that Sicilians are not as smart as WASPs or Jews.

Herrnstein and Murray insist that genetic endowment plays a significant role in intelligence—they do not, as mendacious critics charge, make it the whole story—and that IQ scores are in fact meaningful and must be taken into account. I find nothing here to have a kitten over, although, as I hope they would acknowledge, the state of scientific investigation should render all generalizations tentative and subject to further research. To be sure, liberal critics seem determined to suppress such research, lest it end in ideologically unpalatable findings. The trouble with suppression is that it will not work: sooner or later the truth will out. Still, Father Neuhaus and other conservatives may be excused for suggesting that civilized societies have always found it prudent to restrict the range of public discussion when it threatens to rend society to no good end.

And here the authors come close to a plunge into socially dangerous irresponsibility when they insist that blacks, considered not individually but as a group, have lower intelligence than whites. If race is an unsustainable category, and if we lump all blacks and all whites together in that unsustainable category, exactly what, we may ask, is the subject of this discussion?

Herrnstein and Murray slip into chilling naïveté, if not disingenuousness. Incredibly, they argue that whites need not be led into discrimination against individual blacks just because the collective IQ ratings of blacks fall below those of whites. Each person, they solemnly aver, should be taken as an individual and treated accordingly. What world do they live in? Do they seriously believe that any such sermon would, could, or should dictate the policy of employers with bills to pay, payrolls to meet, and profits to make? May I suggest that employers would have to be either saints or idiots not to be influenced by the collective statistics in choosing between competing individuals? The state could, of course, intervene to make employers act like saints or idiots, but Herrnstein and Murray advocate no such political program.

Conversely, do they seriously believe that the allegedly scientific demonstration of the inferiority of blacks as a group would not have devastating effects on the ability of black individuals to cope with the discrimi-

Mr. Genovese is the author of The Southern Tradition: The Achievement and Limitations of an American Conservatism *(Harvard).*

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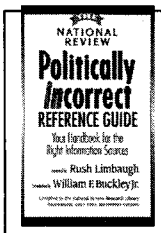

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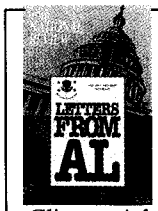

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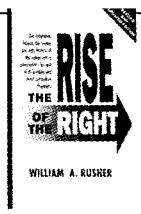

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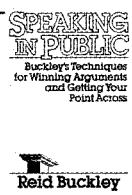

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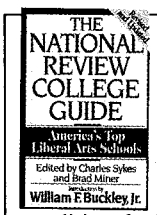
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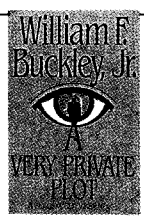

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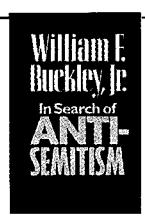

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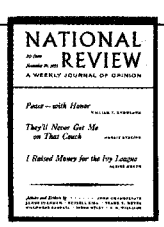

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nation described at length in this book? Individual blacks would have to rise to heroic stature to resist such an assault on their self-confidence. And I do wonder if Herrnstein and Murray have reflected on the probability and consequences of the caste war between mulattoes and blacks that their argument invites. Once again, they may tell us that we must always be ready to face the truth bravely, but there is nothing brave, wise, prudent, or sensible in proclaiming a "truth" based on an unsustainable category of analysis that threatens society with civil war and threatens individuals with unspeakable and unnecessary pain in their everyday lives.

Given the explicit opposition of Herrnstein and Murray to racism and discrimination, given their no less firm commitment to the treatment of each person as an individual, and given their thoughtful proposals for improving the position of blacks in American society, how are we to understand their obsession with racial categories, the justification for which they reject at the outset? By proceeding as they have, they have done a disservice to themselves and to their salutary program of social reform by deflecting what should be a discussion of a wide variety of pressing problems onto terrain on which constructive discussion will be difficult to conduct. Which is too bad. For this is on balance a rich and valuable book, the constructive features of which far outweigh its mischievous nonsense.

The most valuable contribution of *The Bell Curve* lies in its exposure of the egalitarian swindle that is being promoted not only by a deranged Left but also by an ideologically driven free-market Right that reduces people to individual units in the manner of discrete commodities in the marketplace. (And be it noted: since free-market right-wingers also have a sense of humor—of sorts—they promote this twaddle while they preach family, religious, and community values, which the consumer choice and radical individualism of the marketplace have everywhere been undermining.) Herrnstein and Murray bluntly call upon us to learn—or, rather, relearn—to live with inequality. God bless them for it. But we dare not forget that it is inequality among individuals that remains the issue. It will take a maximum effort to bring a high-spirited American people, whose virtues do not include a readiness to accept authority or limits on what men may accomplish in this world, to a realistic appraisal of the narrow range within which it is sensible to speak of equality.

No such political effort will have a prayer without maximum intellectual clarity. The greater part of this infuriating book contributes manfully to that clarity. The lesser part—which is getting all the attention, thanks in part to the authors' obsession with a pointless, not to say destructive, sideshow—threatens to ruin the project. We must not let that happen. □

Acting Smart

JAMES Q. WILSON

SERIOUS readers will ask four main questions about *The Bell Curve*. Is it true that intelligence explains so much behavior? How can IQ produce this effect? If it does, is there anything we should do differently in public policy? And will this nexus affect race relations?

My answer to the first question is unequivocally yes. I first became aware of the significance of low IQ as a predictor of ordinary criminality when I collaborated with the late Richard Herrnstein in writing *Crime and Human Nature*. Since we published that book in 1985, evidence showing that delinquents and other offenders have a lower measured intelligence, especially on the verbal component of the tests, has continued to accumulate. Now Herrnstein and Murray have shown that there are strong correlations between IQ and occupation level, school attainment, worker productivity, and possibly even political participation. These correlations exist within a given racial group (say, whites) and after matching people on the basis of their social class. (Controlling for social class means that the IQ–outcome link is even stronger than many of *The Bell Curve*'s graphs reveal, since IQ also partially determines a person's social class.) Herrnstein and Murray present their evidence abundantly, cautiously, and in painstaking detail. Though quibbles are possible, I find it very unlikely that their answers to this question will be confuted.

The second question seems to present a tougher challenge. How can IQ affect things that don't seem to involve much thinking, like stealing a radio, conceiving a child out of wedlock, or doing a poor job as a bricklayer? The answer, I think, is that even the simplest tasks require the mind to recall and process an enormous amount of information; even the most powerful temptations evoke from us very different degrees of vividness in imagining future consequences. We forget this when we adopt the language of "instinct," "social forces," "economic incentives." Though all of these factors are important, all are mediated by the human mind in complex ways. On average, bright people are more likely than not-so-bright ones to recall past experiences and use them to shape present actions, to foresee vividly the future consequences of actions, and to internalize rules of thumb for everything from how to lay a straight line of bricks to how to prevent an unwanted pregnancy. There are many exceptions—bright people who give way to every temptation, not-so-bright people who follow the Ten Commandments scrupulously. But on average, IQ makes a difference across a wide range of human behaviors. How wide a range we have yet to learn.

My answer to the third question is, "It depends." To be exact, the public-policy implications depend on two things. One is how much of the variance in unhappy conditions—criminality, poverty, low worker productiv-

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ity, and the like—can be explained by differences in intelligence. We know with certainty that IQ cannot explain all of the variance, because rates of crime, poverty, and illegitimacy change dramatically without corresponding changes in intelligence. But even allowing for these changes, the statistical techniques that Herrnstein and Murray use do not, for technical reasons, permit a good estimate of how much of the difference between two groups (say, white women on welfare and white women not on welfare) can be attributed to IQ differences.

The other point is that we do not know how policy measures designed to change the things that can be changed interact with IQ. For example, suppose having a low verbal IQ makes a young girl more likely to become a teenage mother, get on welfare, and remain poor. Knowing that we can't change IQ very much (as we have learned from virtually every study of pre-school education that has ever been done), we decide to change other things: we provide girls with sex education and contraception, enroll them in classes that teach them how to resist peer pressure, and develop apprenticeship programs that enable them to get jobs that do not require a lot of brain power. Such programs may work well with girls of ordinary talents, but how well will they work with girls of below-par talents? Or to put the same thing in other words, how heavily must we invest money and effort in a program to make up for whatever cognitive deficits the participants bring to it? Except for some isolated cases, we don't know the answer to that question. In those instances where one kind of investment (in pre-school education) has been shown to have enduring beneficial effects on behavior, the investment usually has been quite heavy—much heavier than in the standard Head Start project and, in many cases, lasting much longer.

Herrnstein and Murray agree with almost every other scholar that human behavior is the result of a complex interaction between nature and nurture. But they also remind us of a point that many laymen and

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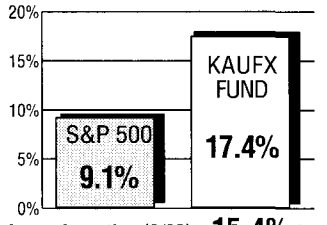

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some scholars forget: it is often just as hard to change nurture as it is to change nature, or even harder. Don't suppose for a moment that believing in the great importance of environmental factors facilitates planned social change. One example: almost everybody agrees that childhood experiences affect the risk of becoming a juvenile delinquent, a teenage mother, a school dropout. Now ask yourself: How do you change cold, discordant, abusive, neglectful parents into decent, loving, caring ones?

The answer to the fourth question is: Knowledge of the connection between intelligence and behavior shouldn't have any effect on race relations, but it probably will. In principle—and especially in the light of the principles on which the United States was founded—a person's group membership ought to have no effect on the assessment we make of that person. Yesterday the reader was dealing with a variety of individuals who were white, Oriental, or black. Today he reads *The Bell Curve*. Tomorrow, should his behavior toward these people change in any way? No. They are the same individuals, with the same strengths and weaknesses, that they were yesterday.

That, alas, is not always the way the world works. Some people, eager to have a generalizable reason for their dislike of a particular person, will impute to that person the average IQ of his ethnic group as learned from Herrnstein and Murray. We call that racism. It is wrong. But it will happen. Some other people, eager to deny the reality of group (or even individual) differences, will want to deny the accuracy of *The Bell Curve* by assailing the motives of the authors. We call that an *ad hominem* argument. It is wrong. But it will happen.

In an ideal world, the book Herrnstein and Murray have written would pass into public consciousness with scarcely a ripple. "Of course," readers would say, "we know that people differ in intelligence and we know, from having watched them in school, on the job, and in the neighborhood that this difference will make a difference in how they behave." And then they would add: "But we are Americans, and in America it is your individual talents and inclinations, and only those, that count. So we don't have to change anything we are doing as individuals."

But this is not an ideal world, and so some conservative racists and some liberal multiculturalists (who are racists of a different kind) will make the wrong kind of fuss about this penetrating and magisterial book. Shame on them. □

Paroxysms of Denial

ARTHUR R. JENSEN

COMMENTING not as an advocate but as an expert witness, I can say that *The Bell Curve* is correct in all its essential facts. The graphically presented analyses of fresh data (from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth) are consistent with the preponderance of past studies. Nowadays the factual basis of *The Bell Curve* is scarcely debated by the experts, who regard it as mainstream knowledge.

The most well-established facts: Individual differences in general cognitive ability are reliably measured by IQ tests. IQ is strongly related, probably more than any other single measurable trait, to many important educational, occupational, economic, and social variables. (Not mentioned in the book is that IQ is also correlated with a number of variables of the brain, including its size, electrical potentials, and rate of glucose metabolism during cognitive activity.) Individual differences in adult IQ are largely genetic, with a heritability of about 70 per cent. So far, attempts to raise IQ by educational or psychological means have failed to show appreciable lasting effects on cognitive ability and scholastic achievement. The IQ distribution in two population groups socially recognized as "black" and "white" is represented by two largely overlapping bell curves with their means separated by about 15 points, a difference not due to test bias. IQ has the same meaning and practical predictive validity for both groups. Tests do not create differences; they merely reflect them.

The conjunction of these facts is a troubling picture to most people. And rightly so. The book's penultimate chapter ("The Way We Are Headed"), in the light of the chapters that precede it, probably leaves most readers depressed and disturbed, and it should. I, for one, am not all that comforted by the final chapter's remedial recommendations for public policy, entirely sensible though they may be. In the present climate, they have a slim chance of being realized. Yet one hates to believe there may be no morally acceptable, feasible, and effective way to mitigate the most undesirable social consequences of the increasing IQ stratification of the nation's population. The phenomenon itself is almost inevitable in a technological civilization. It is simply more salient when there are large subpopulations that differ in mean IQ. The "custodial society," which the authors portray as the worst scenario for public policy (and which their recommendations are intended to prevent), is hardly an agreeable resolution to most Americans. Yet at present it seems that is "the way we are headed."

The topic of race differences in IQ occupies only a fraction of *The Bell Curve* and is not at all essential to its main argument. All the socially important correlates of IQ are demonstrated in the white population sample. But the mass media have pounced exclusively on the race issue and, with a few notable exceptions, by and

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large have gone into paroxysms of denial, trashing the factual basis of *The Bell Curve* in every conceivable way, as if obeying a categorical imperative to inoculate the public against it.

Although social problems involving race are conspicuously in the news these days, too few journalists are willing or able to discuss rationally certain possible causes. The authors' crime, apparently, is that they do exactly this, arguing with impressive evidence that the implications of IQ variance in American society can't be excluded from a realistic diagnosis of its social problems.

The media's spectacular denial probably arises from the juxtaposition of the book's demonstrations; first, that what is termed "social pathology"—delinquency, crime, drug abuse, illegitimacy, child neglect, permanent welfare dependency—is disproportionately concentrated (for whites and blacks alike) in the segment of the population with IQs below 75; and second, that at least one-fourth of the black population (compared to one-twentieth of the white population) falls below that critical IQ point in the bell curve. Because the smaller percentage of white persons with IQs below 75 are fairly well scattered throughout the population, many are guided, helped, and protected by their abler families, friends, and neighbors, whose IQs average closer to 100. Relatively few are liable to be concentrated in the poor neighborhoods and housing projects that harbor the "critical mass" of very low IQs which generates more than its fair share of social pathology. The "critical mass" effect exists mostly in the inner city, which has been largely abandoned by whites. Of course thinking citizens are troubled. Thinking about possible constructive remedies strains one's wisdom.

But can any good for anyone result from sweeping the problem under the rug? Shouldn't it be exposed to earnest, fair-minded public discussion? Our only real fear, I think, should be that such discussion might *not* happen. Consideration of the book's actual content is being displaced by the rhetoric of denial:

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name calling ("neo-nazi," "pseudo-scientific," "racism," "quackery"), sidetracks ("but does IQ really measure intelligence?"), non-sequiturs ("specific genes for IQ have not been identified, so we can claim nothing about its heritability"), red herrings ("Hitler misused genetics"), *ad hominem* attacks ("written in a conservative think tank"), falsehoods ("all the tests are biased"), hyperbole ("throwing gasoline on a fire"), and insults ("dishonest," "creepy," "indecent," "ugly").

The remedy for this obfuscation is simply to read the book itself. We should hope that President Clinton will do so before he speaks out on the subject again, or at least ask his science advisor's opinion of whether it is a serious work on important issues by qualified scholars. It would clear the air if the President asked the National Academy of Sciences to appoint a panel of experts to evaluate the factual claims of *The Bell Curve* and report its conclusions to the public. There is a precedent for such an action. Following the publication of my book *Bias in Mental Testing*, the NAS convened a panel of experts to examine the body of research it covered and issued a two-volume report confirming my main conclusions. A similar detailed examination of *The Bell Curve* seems warranted by the public's evident concern with the empirical substance of the argument and its meaning for the nation's future. □

Is Intelligence Fixed?

NATHAN GLAZER

THAT people differ in intelligence, that the more intelligent will do better at many things, that IQ tests (and a good number of other similar tests) will give us a pretty good picture of how people differ in intelligence—there is not much to object to in all of this. Elaboration on these matters of common judgment makes up half or more of *The Bell Curve*. Even this much has been found objectionable in the past, and will be found objectionable today, and by people of, one assumes, high intelligence. Thus one federal judge in California has asserted, as a matter of law, that intelligence tests cannot be used to place duller children in classes designed to help them, and intelligence tests have been subjected to massive, book-length assault by distinguished scientists because some of those who devised and used them believed there were inherited differences in intelligence among races.

On these matters Herrnstein and Murray are to me completely convincing. On more controversial matters, such as the notion that there are substantial differences in intelligence among different groups defined by a common inheritance and culture, they are also convincing to me. We take these differences in intelligence for granted in the case of families, and it stands to reason that such differences might also characterize larger groups that share some common features in genetic inheritance and culture. Otherwise we would have no explanation for the disproportionate presence of Jews and Asians in selective high schools and selective colleges, or the disproportionate presence of these groups in such occupations as medicine, law, and college teaching.

We could give a variety of explanations for these phenomena short of any reference to genes—for example, the disproportionate presence of persons of high education among immigrants from a number of Asian countries (some of these groups have a higher proportion of college graduates than do native Americans), or the high socio-economic position they obtain on the basis of this education, and the background they are thus able to offer to their children; or the urban background of Jewish immigrants as contrasted with the predominantly peasant background of other immigrant groups that arrived here around the turn of the century. I would have preferred that Herrnstein and Murray had paid more attention to these differences as explanations of group differences in intelligence, owing to what has been made in the past of differences based on race. But on reflection, it hardly matters whether the differences are genetic or environmental; people can be brutal to those different from themselves regardless of the ultimate reasons for the difference.

On three further extensions of the argument, however, I would take issue with Herrnstein and Murray. First, how fixed are these differences? Second, are there interventions that could raise the test performance of persons and groups who score below average? Third, what about policies—that is, affirmative action—that set aside differences in performance in favor of group representation?

Herrnstein and Murray give some surprising data (surprising in the light of their argument that intelligence is fixed early and can't be changed appreciably through environmental intervention) on the degree to which differences between whites and blacks in performance on educational tests have been reduced in the past twenty years. The National Assessment of Educational Progress has been giving tests in science, mathematics, and reading to groups of schoolchildren of different ages since 1969. The reductions in the differences between white and black performance in standard deviations (a crucial statistical measure of difference that will not be further explained here, but that Herrnstein and Murray explain admirably in the book) range from .12 to .44. As they write: "The overall aver-

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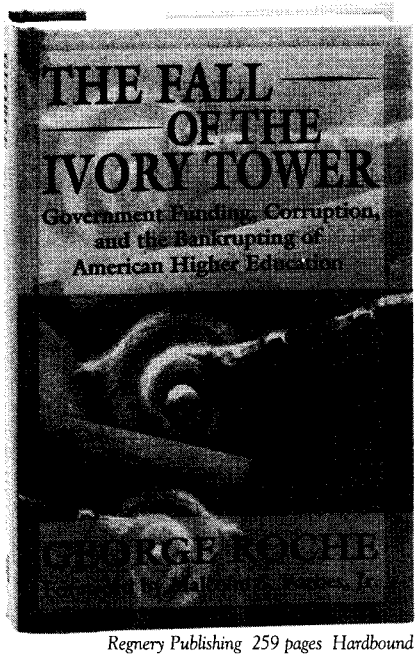
age gap of .92 standard deviation in the 1969–1973 tests had shrunk to .64 standard deviation in 1990. The gap narrowed because black scores rose, not because white scores fell." There has also been a narrowing of the gap in SAT scores, they report.

I wonder why more is not made of this. After all, while we have tried to do a good deal, through various programs, to put more money into the education of low-achieving, mostly black inner-city children, this has not been an overwhelming national effort. Simultaneously there has been a drastic decline in the environment of many of these children—more drugs, more crime, more illegitimacy. If so much has been achieved with relatively little, why can we not expect further progress? Among all the wonderful charts in this book, it would have been interesting to see one mapping this reduction and extending it into the future.

One of the more intriguing data comes from a study of the children of black American servicemen and German women in Germany. There is no difference in IQ between these children and the children of white American servicemen and German women. This reminds one of the older literature, inspired by the desire to counter racism in the 1920s and 1930s, on the change possible in what were considered fixed racial characteristics. Fifty years ago, one read Otto Klineberg, who seemed to have given a fatal blow to theories of the fixity of intelligence by showing that blacks in the North scored higher on general intelligence tests than whites (or perhaps it was certain groups of whites) in the South. I would like to have seen what later research has done to this argument, but there is nothing on regional differences in intelligence in the book, and Klineberg is not in the massive bibliography.

Finally, on affirmative action Herrnstein and Murray tell us much that is not generally known but has been available for a long time—ever since Justice Powell, in his opinion in the *Bakke* case, contrasted Allan Bakke's scores on the Medical College Admission Test with the remarkably lower scores of those admitted under the affirmative-action program; ever since Thomas Sowell began making his powerful arguments on the too-large gap between black and non-black students in colleges that aggressively recruit the former; ever since Robert Klitgaard, in his important book *Choosing Elites*, demonstrated how far down in the pool highly selective college and graduate programs have to reach to get substantial numbers of black students.

We know the story, but what is to be done? Once again, white students who feel they have been discriminated against by an affirmative-action program are suing an institution of higher education (the University of Texas Law School), and the Supreme Court will have to consider the matter. The documents in the case—no surprise—show that without the program of special preference, blacks would constitute only 1 to 2 per cent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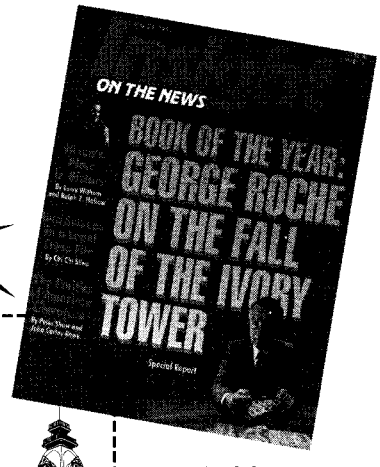

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of the class, a fraction of the number now enrolled. The degree of preference could be less, the amount of perceived unfairness reduced. But I do not see how a country that has struggled so long, and still struggles, to make blacks full and equal participants can take a purely meritocratic position on such matters. If higher education served only to qualify students to become theoretical physicists or Sanskritists, we could remain indifferent to group consequences of purely meritocratic selection. But it does considerably more than that. Group representation must be a consideration, and all we can do is argue about the details. □

Meritocracy That Works

LOREN E. LOMASKY

SOME people succeed because of fortunate birth, some because of nuggets of good luck they find along the way. But high-level achievement mainly depends on ability. What makes one person more able to excel than another is, of course, partly a matter of upbringing and education, but there is overwhelming evidence that to a considerable extent it is a function of the mix of DNA in one's genes. People differ from one another along salient measures of achievement not only as individuals but also—though it may be politically injudicious to say so above a whisper—as members of racial groups. Although the spread between whites and blacks is much smaller than the variation within either group, at every level of achievement there is a clear disparity in representation between blacks and whites. The higher the level, the greater the disparity.

Is this the scenario of differential intelligence endowments leading to unequal positions in the American socio-economic hierarchy that Herrnstein and Murray describe at length in *The Bell Curve*? I think so, although the authors are not as clear as they might be on this point. But no matter; it wasn't meritocracy in the academy, business, or the professions I had in mind. Rather, I was talking basketball.

Boys of all sizes and complexions enjoy tossing balls toward baskets. Those who grow up to do so with the greatest success tend to be taller than average. They also tend to be darker. In high school, more so in college, and most of all at the professional level, basketball is an African-American's game—not exclusively, but to an extent that no advanced degree in statistics is needed to discern. It's not obvious why this is so. Some speculate that basketball achievement is a product of a subculture that celebrates athletic success; others point to the urban concentration of blacks, making them likelier to gravitate toward the "city game." But one may also suspect that there is a considerable genetic component to basketball achievement and that it is not distributed evenly across races.

It would be facile to conclude simply that different groups do well in different fields, and that's that. While athletic ability is a local talent, general intelligence is, as the authors of *The Bell Curve* demonstrate, globally advantageous. Those blessed with an above-average IQ will occupy most of the highest positions of power and prestige this society affords, whereas only a very few men will prosper as a result of the ability to run and jump and shoot. Still, reflecting on the minor meritocracy that is the National Basketball Association may promote clearer thinking concerning larger issues.

First, no deep understanding of the relative contributions of heredity and environment is required to figure out who deserves to play and who should ride the bench. What matters for a meritocratic activity is the capacity to contribute, whatever its ultimate ground may be. Herrnstein and Murray apparently concur.

But second, even if there were convincing evidence of a heritable component in basketball talent unevenly distributed among racial groups, it would not follow that investment of resources in the less well-endowed is futile. The authors seem to believe otherwise, but that conclusion follows only if the purpose of such investment is to equalize levels of achievement across groups. Herrnstein and Murray are not leftist egalitarians, so their confusion on this point is surprising.

Let me try to clarify it. Because of an extreme disparity in natural endowments, no amount of coaching will allow the Harvard University basketball team to play on equal terms with the Boston Celtics. It does not follow that all available coaching resources ought to be put into the latter and none into the former. It does not even follow that the proportional return on investment in nurturing the skills of the Celtics will be greater than the return on the same investment in the Harvard team. The origins of endowments imply nothing about whether and how they ought to be cultivated.

If the aim of social policy is to raise the abilities of the less well-off, without trying to achieve parity across races and classes, then speculation concerning the genetic basis of cognitive abilities is largely beside the point. What matters is evidence concerning the cost-effectiveness of attempts to raise the positions of the less talented. And virtually across the board, the Great Society's grand initiatives have shown themselves to be impotent, if not counterproductive. No one has more eloquently or urgently catalogued that failure than Charles Murray, and the cogency of his indictment of the welfare state in *Losing Ground* owed nothing to any deep inspection of chromosomes. It depicted people as responsive to the incentives they confront and to the moral atmosphere in which they take their bearings, not as passive servants of their genome. *The Bell Curve* tends to blur rather than enhance that message.

In the NBA, unlike at HHS, there are no affirmative-action programs, quotas, or overseers of political correctness. Roster positions, playing time, and salaries are

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distributed on the basis of ability to perform on the court. That meritocratic principle seems to work well, far better than government education, housing, and single-parent subsidy programs. In few areas of American life are racial animosities less evident. That is no accident, and it could have turned out otherwise.

Several decades ago, when the infusion of black talent into the league began, some team owners worried that the predominantly white fans would not support a team on which black athletes were the majority. Some recommended what in other contexts is now called a "racially sensitive" policy. Those suggestions weren't heeded, possibly because the technical term for a team that allocates positions based on race is "loser." It is now abundantly clear that the warnings were wrong.

Both on the floor and in the seats, sports arenas feature more amicable interracial mixing than almost any other venue in the country. Star performers such as Magic Johnson, Michael Jordan, and Charles Barkley have achieved enormous popularity among black and white fans alike. Precisely because allocation of basketball positions is guided by rebounding, not race, the success of players isn't contaminated by a suspicion that it is undeserved. This is a meritocracy that works. Is it too much to hope that the lessons of its success might someday be generalized? □

Moral Intelligence

MICHAEL YOUNG

WHEN I coined the word "meritocracy" and its imagined credo, IQ + Effort = Merit, I could never have anticipated that the actual rise of a "cognitive elite" in America and its contrary in the underclass would be chronicled with such meticulous scholarship forty years later. I was talking mostly of what might be; Herrnstein and Murray are talking of what has been, and is. One of the most enduring truths is that man is a verb; but what human beings can do remains astonishing and frightening.

I love America almost as much as my own country. This is perhaps partly because for three years running in the 1930s I was taken each summer by my informal foster parents (one of whom had been Eleanor Roosevelt's best friend at school) to stay in the White House. My childhood recollections are no doubt unreliable, and even more my judgments. But for what they are worth, I

Lord Young of Dartington is the author of The Rise of the Meritocracy, *just republished in America, which will be reviewed in our next issue.*

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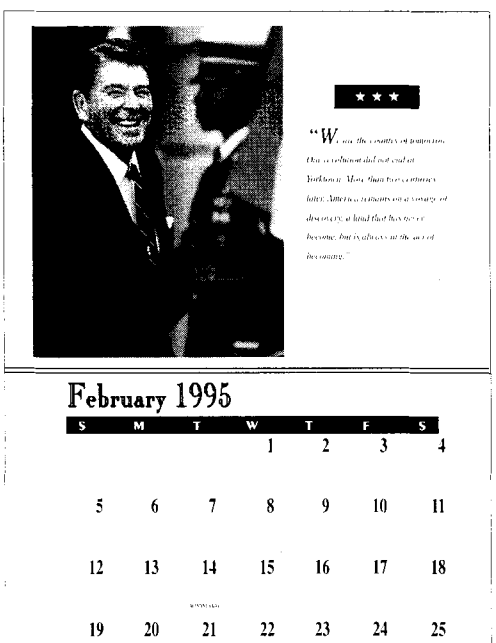

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was impressed by Franklin Roosevelt not just as a wily politician but also as a man of moral stature, and I felt a little the same about some of his colleagues when I sat down for dinner with him and Wallace and Hull and Ickes and the other New Dealers. Whatever later revelations have done to tarnish the image of Roosevelt, I don't think that many people would consider that a comparison between him and Nixon or Reagan would be wholly unfavorable to their predecessor in the Presidency. One of the extraordinary things about moral qualities is that they are so readily recognized by those around the people who possess them. This can make goodness catching.

In 1940, Winston Churchill showed that he had learned something from Roosevelt's "fireside chats" when, as France was falling and England seemed open to imminent invasion by Hitler, he began his broadcast to the nation with the simple but inspired words, "The news from France is very bad." A prime minister who could face the truth at that moment was a man for whom people would die. John Major is not such a man.

I go so far back in the history of this century in order to make my main point about this magisterial book. The authors have much to say about the changes which have occurred since that time. In its main outlines theirs is a story of progress. Intelligence—or cognitive ability, as they prefer to call it most of the time—seems to have swept almost all before it. "The United States led the rest of the world in opening colleges to a mass of young people of ability, regardless of race, color, creed, gender, and financial resources. . . . Scoring above 700 is forty times more concentrated in the freshman classes at Yale and Harvard than in the national SAT population at large." After the 1950s, "The next three decades saw a great social leveling, as the executive suites filled with bright people who could maximize corporate profits, and never mind if they came from the wrong side of the tracks or worshipped at a temple instead of a church." In Washington, "the top echelons of federal officialdom, special interest groups, think tanks, and the rest of Washington's satellite institutions draw heavily from the cognitive elite. . . . Part 1 mostly described a success story—success for the people lucky enough to be part of the cognitive elite but also a success for the nation as a whole."

The other side, the dark side, of America is also portrayed: the steep upward curve in the rates of divorce and illegitimacy, with people of low ability most affected; the crime that is tearing a free society apart, with criminals having lower IQs; the poverty that afflicts the "very dull"; the people on welfare, these too with lower IQs. We are presented with a society savagely stratified according to cognitive ability.

The strange thing is that the authors, ardent for the truth though they be, are not prepared to recognize that nothing has failed like their kind of success, because success has been judged so narrowly, by the criteria which they hold onto like dear life. They are more broad-minded than some of their colleagues in their definition of ability. They see merit in Howard Gardner's seven distinct intelligences—linguistic, musical, spatial, etc. But neither he nor they admit even the possibility of the sort of "moral intelligence" which in my view characterized Roosevelt and Churchill.

They quote from Thomas Jefferson, who wrote about an "aristocracy of virtue and talent," without noting that virtue came before talent. They do not cloud their minds with the thought that the quality of moral leadership has deteriorated as leadership has been more and more restricted to people with a particular kind of cognitive ability. It is not enough for members of the new elite to "keep the sidewalks shoveled in the winter." The fellow feeling that David Hume regarded as the foundation for all society is not bounded by sidewalks. The elite have burrowed their way into their comfortable nests by competing successfully and sometimes ruthlessly with their peers at school, all the way up to Yale and Harvard if they are smart enough to get there. Herrnstein and Murray are fond of the word "smart." Being Harvard men, they are certainly smart themselves.

But because they do not see the worm in their thesis, the contradictions in their underlying position, they have very little to say about remedies for the lot of the underclass, or indeed of any class, except for the time-honored maxim that the Federal Government should get off people's backs. "A wide range of social functions should be restored to the neighborhood when possible and otherwise to the municipality," they write. They do not ever consider that community and family morality is generated when children and adults live together over longish periods of time. Familiarity breeds not only contempt but tradition. The social mobility that is the subject of this book, and the geographical mobility that is associated with it, are themselves threats to fellow feeling. If the authors could accept that, they would be a little further along the road toward understanding and judging the unexampled century of the uncommon man and the uncommon woman. □

Methodological Fetishism

BRIGITTE BERGER

FOR ALL its wealth of data, skillful argumentation, and scope, *The Bell Curve* is a narrow and deeply flawed book. Murray and Herrnstein have fallen prey to a methodological fetishism that prevents them from adequately considering alternative, equally plausible inferences that can be drawn from the studies they marshal to buttress their conclusions.

The argument of *The Bell Curve* is carried out on two distinct, though in the authors' minds interrelated, levels. On the first, they discuss issues related to the rise of a "cognitive elite," a trend characteristic of *all* industrial

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societies, whose knowledge-driven economies offer fewer and fewer employment opportunities for people unable to operate in the type of occupations such economies require. On the second level, they argue that a more or less permanent underclass, characterized by the prevalence of low cognitive ability, is becoming a fixture of American society.

Both observations have been discussed here and abroad for some time. But by adding the dimension of race, a factor peculiar to American society, *The Bell Curve* carries the discussion in new directions. Race-determined cognitive ability, they argue, is the underlying reality driving a grisly sorting process that is dividing the nation. Caught in an epistemological paradigm in which psychological operations are reduced to genetic ones, they suggest that biology is destiny. No amount of camouflage or public and private efforts to create a level playing field, they imply, can prevent the inexorable slide of African-Americans into a cognitive caste.

The question is not whether Murray and Herrnstein's argument is "racist"; the question is whether the empirically measured differences among racial groups reflect "intelligence." The tests do indeed measure *something*, but it is not "intelligence." Rather, they measure what I have called "modern consciousness," a set of intellectual skills that are particularly relevant to operating in the highly specialized worlds of modern technology and rationalistically organized bureaucracies. These core institutions of modern society are produced by, and in turn produce, peculiarly modern cognitive styles: the ability to operate on high levels of abstraction; to break reality down analytically into components; to keep multiple relationships in mind simultaneously; and, especially significant for IQ testing, to relate present tasks to possible future consequences. This last skill, by definition, can be achieved only on the basis of past experiences and habits of thought that individuals acquire during the earliest period of socialization, when a basic matrix of cognition develops.

Once one is willing to entertain this alternative explanation for the bulk of the data presented in this book, many things fall into place: the well-documented phenomenon of globally rising test scores as modernization progresses and, similarly, the "leveling off" of rising SAT scores among the most gifted students in already modernized countries; the much-noted capacity of East Asian students to outscore non–East Asians on the non-verbal part of IQ tests, which may be understood as attesting to the "cultural capital" of East Asians rather than their genetic superiority; the measured differences in IQ among siblings, known as the birth-order effect; the shift in scores when an individual moves from a rural to an urban setting or from one social class to another. The list could be expanded.

Murray and Herrnstein's methodological fixation blinds them to a different way of understanding these phenomena. The deficiency is especially conspicuous in their interpretation of the relatively low scores of African-Americans as a group. While everyone would agree that some individuals are smarter than others and that IQ is not as malleable as some have argued in the past, there is good evidence that socialization practices (particularly in the early years) and factors of family structure and interaction, of neighborhood and religion, help shape an individual's cognitive structure. If one looks at the data presented in this book from the "modern consciousness" analytical framework, it becomes clear that African-Americans, as a group, continue to lead lives distant from the centers of modernity. Hence they have not yet been fully initiated into the habits of thought underpinning the operations of sophisticated technologies and organizational structures. Yet there is no reason to suppose that this could not be changed through the practices that help form modern consciousness.

When a methodological fetishism of the dimension manifested in this book permeates the interpretation of individuals, groups, and social life as a whole, the con-

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clusions about what is to be done may indeed look like those reached by Murray and Herrnstein. The authors conjure up a future strangely at odds with everything I know both of them cherish, a future in which human efforts and virtues become ever more insignificant. What remains is the triumph of pure intelligence. Looking at the future from the perspective I propose, however, one would ask whether it is not likely that we, as a society, will come to put a premium on human qualities that have less to do with formal intelligence than with an individual's capacity for, say, empathy, a sense of humor, or religious commitment. What type of individuals, for example, will staff the institutions of elder care that demography will increasingly require? To put it succinctly: when I am about to die of Alzheimer's, I emphatically do not wish to be taken care of by Charles Murray.

The authors appear to believe sincerely that when everyone knows his "place" in society (i.e., when individuals and groups accept their genetic limitations), everything will be in balance. Yet a reliance upon IQ as the ultimate arbiter in social policy could well make for sloth and frivolity among all classes, with those at the top smugly certain that they belong there, while the rest assume there is no point in making any effort at all. If there is one thing more disturbing than a ruling class based on privilege, it is a ruling class that believes it deserves its position by virtue of its intelligence. The one hopeful element of this scenario is that the cognitive elite, in its self-satisfied arrogance, would become so lazy that its regime would not last long.

The implications of this book for American conservatives are, to my mind, quite simple. The worst thing for conservatives to do would be to become identified with the Murray–Herrnstein position. The "balkanization from the Left" that conservatives have so valiantly fought for these past decades would be overshadowed by a specter of technological totalitarianism hardly consonant with visions of liberty and democracy. □

Dispirited

GLENN C. LOURY

READING Herrnstein and Murray's treatise causes me once again to reflect on the limited utility in the management of human affairs of that academic endeavor generously termed social science. The authors of *The Bell Curve* undertake to pronounce upon what is possible for human beings to do while failing to consider that which most makes us human. They begin by seeking the causes of behavior and end by reducing the human subject to a mechanism whose horizon is fixed by some combination of genetic endowment and social law. Yet we, even the "dullest" of us, are so much more than that.

Now, as an economist I am a card-carrying member of the social scientists' cabal; so these doubts now creeping over me have far-reaching personal implications. But entertain them I must, for the stakes in the discussion this book has engendered are too high. The question on the table, central to our nation's future and, I might add, to the future success of a conservative politics in America, is this: Can we sensibly aspire to a more complete social integration than has yet been achieved of those who now languish at the bottom of American society? A political movement that answers "no" to this question must fail, and richly deserves to.

Herrnstein and Murray are not entirely direct on this point. They stress, plausibly enough, that we must be realistic in formulating policy, taking due account of the unequal distribution of intellectual aptitudes in the population, recognizing that limitations of mental ability constrain what sorts of policies are likely to make a difference and how much of a difference they can make. But implicit in their argument is the judgment that we shall have to get used to there being a substantial minority of our fellows who, because of their low intelligence, may fail to perform adequately in their roles as workers, parents, and citizens. I think this is quite wrong. Social science ultimately leads the authors astray on the political and moral fundamentals.

For example, in chapters on parenting, crime, and citizenship they document that performance in these areas is correlated in their samples with cognitive ability. Though they stress that IQ is not destiny, they also stress that it is often a more important "cause" of one's level of personal achievement than factors that liberal social scientists typically invoke, such as family background and economic opportunity. Liberal analysts, they say, offer false hope by suggesting that with improved economic opportunity one can induce underclass youths to live within the law. Some citizens simply lack the wits to manage their affairs so as to avoid criminal violence, be responsive to their children, and exercise the franchise, Herrnstein and Murray argue. If we want our "duller" citizens to obey our laws, we must change the laws (by, e.g., restoring simple rules and certain, severe punishments). Thus: "People of limited intelligence can lead moral lives in a society that is run on the basis of 'Thou shalt not steal.' They find it much harder to lead moral lives in a society that is run on the basis of 'Thou shalt not steal unless there is a really good reason to.'"

There is a case to be made—a conservative case—for simplifying the laws, for making criminals anticipate certain and swift punishment as the consequence of their crimes, and for adhering to traditional notions about right and wrong as exemplified in the commandment "Thou shalt not steal." Indeed, a case can be made for much of the policy advice given in this book—for limiting affirmative action, for seeking a less centralized and more citizen-friendly administration of government, for halting the encouragement now given to out-of-wedlock childbearing, and so on. But there is no reason that

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I can see to rest such a case on the presumed mental limitations of a sizable number of citizens. In every instance there are political arguments for these policy prescriptions that are both more compelling and more likely to succeed in the public arena than the generalizations about human capacities that Herrnstein and Murray claim to have established with their data.

Observing a correlation between a noisy measure of parenting skills, say, and some score on an ability test is a far cry from discovering an immutable law of nature. Social scientists are a long way from producing a definitive account of the causes of human performance in educational attainment and economic success, the areas that have been most intensively studied by economists and sociologists over the last half-century. The claim implicitly advanced in this book to have achieved a scientific understanding of the *moral* performance of the citizenry adequate to provide a foundation for social policy is breathtakingly audacious.

I urge Republican politicians and conservative intellectuals to think long and hard before chanting this IQ mantra in public discourses. Herrnstein and Murray frame their policy discussion so as to guarantee that its appeal will be limited to an electoral minority. Try telling the newly energized Christian Right that access to morality is contingent on mental ability. Their response is likely to be, "God is not finished with us when he deals us our genetic hand."

This is surely right. We human beings are spiritual creatures; we have souls; we have free will. We are, of course, constrained in various ways by biological and environmental realities. But we can, with effort, make ourselves morally fit members of our political communities. If we fully exploit our material and spiritual inheritance, we can become decent citizens and loving parents, despite the constraints. We deserve from our political leaders a vision of our humanity that recognizes and celebrates this potential.

Such a spiritual argument is one that a social scientist may find hard

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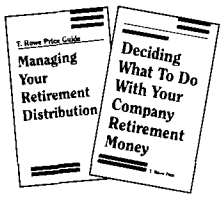

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to understand. Yet the spiritual resources of human beings are key to the maintenance of social stability and progress. They are the ultimate foundation of any hope we can have of overcoming the social malaise of the underclass. This is why the mechanistic determinism of science is, in the end, inadequate to the task of social prescription. Political science has no account of why people vote; psychology has yet to identify the material basis of religious exhilaration; economics can say only that people give to charities because it makes them feel good to do so. No analyst predicted that the people of Eastern Europe would, in Vaclav Havel's memorable phrase, rise to achieve "a sense of transcendence over the world of existences." With the understanding of causality in social science so limited, and the importance of matters of the spirit so palpable, one might expect a bit of humble circumspection from analysts who presume to pronounce upon what is possible for human beings to accomplish.

Whatever the merits of their social science, Herrnstein and Murray are in a moral and political cul de sac. I see no reason for serious conservatives to join them there. This difficulty is most clearly illustrated with the fierce debate about racial differences in intelligence that *The Bell Curve* has spawned. The authors will surely get more grief than they deserve for having stated the facts of this matter—that on the average blacks lag significantly behind whites in cognitive functioning. That is not my objection. What I find problematic is their suggestion that we accommodate ourselves to the inevitability of the difference in mental performance among the races in America. This posture of resignation is an unacceptable response to today's tragic reality. We can be prudent and hard-headed about what government can and cannot accomplish through its various instruments of policy without abandoning hope of achieving racial reconciliation within our national community.

In reality, the record of black American economic and educational achievement in the post-civil-rights era has been ambiguous—great success mixed with shocking failure. Myriad explanations for the failure have been advanced, but the account that attributes it to the limited mental abilities of blacks is singular in its suggestion that we must learn to live with current racial disparities. It is true that for too long the loudest voices of African-American authenticity offered discrimination by whites as the excuse for every black disability; they treated evidence of limited black achievement as an automatic indictment of the American social order. These racialists are hoist on their own petard by the arguments and data in *The Bell Curve*. Having taught us to examine each individual life first through a racial lens, they must now confront the specter of a racial-intelligence accountancy that suggests a rather different explanation for the ambiguous achievements of blacks in the last generation.

So the question now on the floor, in the minds of blacks as well as whites, is whether blacks are capable of gaining equal status, given equality of opportunity. It is a peculiar mind that fails to fathom how poisonous a question this is for our democracy. Let me state my unequivocal belief that blacks are, indeed, so capable. Still, any assertion of equal black capacity is a hypothesis or an axiom, not a fact. The fact is that blacks have something to prove, to ourselves and to what W. E. B. Du Bois once characterized as "a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity." This is not fair; it is not right; but it is the way things are.

Some conservatives are not above signaling, in more or less overt ways, their belief that blacks can never pass this test. Some radical black nationalists agree, arguing increasingly more openly now that blacks can never make it in "white America" and so should stop trying, go our own way, and maybe burn a few things down in the process. At bottom these parties share the belief that the magnitude of the challenge facing blacks is beyond what we can manage. I insist, to the contrary, that we can and must meet this challenge. I find it spectacularly unhelpful to be told, "Success is unlikely given your average mental equipment, but never mind, because cognitive ability is not the only currency for measuring human worth." This is, in fact, precisely what Herrnstein and Murray say. I shudder at the prospect that this could be the animating vision of a governing conservative coalition in this country. But I take comfort in the certainty that, should conservatives be unwise enough to embrace it, the American people will be decent enough to reject it. □

Sins of the Cognitive Elite

MICHAEL NOVAK

OUR intellectual landscape has been disrupted by the equivalent of an earthquake and, as the ground settles, intellectuals are looking around nervously and bracing themselves. At such times, the best policy is to heed the evidence that leads toward truth.

The problem with this policy today is that on at least three matters—IQ, heritability, and human nature—the rules we have lived under for some decades now are evasion, euphemism, and taboo. The earthquake has been caused by the simultaneous violation of all three. The problem is especially acute for liberals who have invested virtually their entire substance in three unusual beliefs: that almost everything important about human beings originates in the environment; that environmental factors may be manipulated at will by an intelligent and highly moral elite (composed of themselves); and that the ideal condition of human life would be a certain uniformity, which they call (equivocally) "equality." By

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the latter term, they do not mean equality under the law, or even equality of opportunity, but an administered equality of result.

The Herrnstein–Murray findings have violently shifted the ground from under these intellectual foundations; hence the loud wailing and gnashing of teeth. Hence, as well, rapid efforts to shovel the earth back under the wobbly walls. Hence, finally, the hysterical efforts to assassinate the messengers. Their message *cannot* be true because much more is at stake than a particular set of arguments from psychological science. A this-worldly eschatological *hope* is at stake. The sin attributed to Herrnstein and Murray is theological: they destroy hope.

Meanwhile, two important theses of the book have been ignored. They concern the right and left tails of the bell curve, and the special hazards attached to having above-average or below-average intelligence.

At the top of the distribution, the special hazard is isolation and a loss of realism. Herrnstein and Murray argue that those at the top of the IQ distribution have been migrating more and more into isolated enclaves, not only during their university years and in the sorts of occupations they take up, but also in the residential and associative patterns their lives exemplify. The data assembled by Herrnstein and Murray make a strong case that this is in fact happening, to a degree unprecedented in American history.

The implications of this generalization have barely been explored in the public discussion. The cognitive elite, for example, is subject to prairie-fire panics (the Alar scare, nuclear winter, global warming) that sweep through it on a regular basis, scorching the American landscape. The law schools especially, and at some distance behind them the courts, have been swept with enthusiasms new to American jurisprudential history, most notably the sustained effort to eliminate all traces of Judaism and Christianity from the public square, including courthouse lawns and public schools. This elite is blind to its own contradictions; it is, for example, strongly

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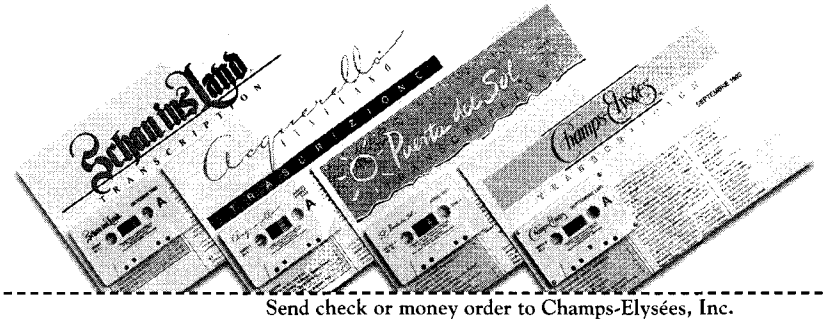

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pro-abortion and anti-smoking, supporting "free choice" in the one case and ever-tighter restriction of choice in the other. A newly empowered American cognitive elite, quite aware of its new power, is in area after area trying to make over a sometimes passive, sometimes recalcitrant country in its own image.

Most public policies relative to people lower down on the financial and social scales are made by the cognitive elite. From this fact it does not follow that these policies are realistic, down-to-earth, and actually beneficial for those on whose behalf they have supposedly been designed. The form and function of these public policies may be informed more by conceptual clarity and logic than by the actual habits of citizens of average or low IQ. Evidence of failure seldom seems to result in the abandonment of such policies, but rather in the demand that more money be spent and more strenuous efforts made. It is the will of the cognitive elite, not the actual good of the average- and low-IQ citizens, that is decisive.

The most significant Herrnstein–Murray thesis, in summary, is that the physical isolation and intellectual hubris of this elite are distorting its vision, leading it into utopianism, and enfolding it in a world of unreality. This is the fundamental reason for the pessimism that Herrnstein and Murray reluctantly voice.

The Herrnstein–Murray diagnosis makes somewhat analogous points with respect to the low end of the IQ distribution.

The authors frequently point to *character* as an important element in various kinds of success. I wish they had said still more about it. Put another way, I wish someone would write a companion study, as scholarly as theirs, concentrating on issues of character rather than on issues of intelligence. That might give us a fuller and rounder appreciation of the evidence and, incidentally, another way of grasping the importance of IQ, above all in the moral sphere. Common sense suggests, and historical evidence confirms, that some civilizations better than others offer persons of low IQ favorable habitats for successful living. Common sense further suggests that persons of low IQ will do better, and report higher degrees of happiness, within cultural structures that are firm, clear, and supportive. When the cultural signals telling them what to do and what not to do are neither clear nor compelling, neither punishing nor rewarding, neither reinforcing their sound moral instincts nor hold-

Trashing The Bell Curve

IN ONE of the numerous asides that made his lectures so memorable, Herman Kahn observed that the Hans Christian Andersen story about the emperor's clothes was psychologically flawed. It was impossible to believe, Herman said, that people committed to the wonderfulness of the clothes would instantly reverse course and accept that the emperor was naked, just because somebody pointed out this obvious truth. People truly committed to beliefs don't get turned around that easily. At a minimum, they would have furiously denounced the little boy who blurted out the nakedness news, just as they are now reviling Charles Murray and the late Richard J. Herrnstein for putting forward the data that give *The Bell Curve* its enormous explanatory power.

A howling mob of liberal commentators not knowing what in hell they are talking about is a dispiriting spectacle, and media reaction to the Herrnstein–Murray book has been infinitely depressing. I cannot remember any other work of scholarship, in any field at all, that has been assailed so cavalierly by writers ignorant of the material and manifestly unconcerned about accurately representing its ideas. I used to think that Mickey Kaus was a smart and serious guy. But there he was in *The New Republic*, attacking the authors for resisting "a near-avalanche of evidence that the black–white difference in IQ is a function of environment rather than heredity."

The avalanche cited by Kaus consists of studies he apparently learned about from *The Bell Curve* itself. Its authors judiciously lead readers through a wide range of studies, some consistent with a purely environmental explanation of racial IQ differences, some powerfully suggesting that environment alone cannot explain them all. Kaus points to several studies in the former group, dismissively mentions one in the latter group, and ignores the survey data cited by Herrnstein and Murray, which tell us that expert opinion is strongly tilted toward some genetic contribution to the gap. (In the survey by Mark Snyderman and Stanley Rothman of 661 scholars working in IQ-related fields, three times as many say they believe there is some genetic contribution to the IQ gap as say the gap is entirely environmental in origin.)

Kaus later turned up on CBS News proclaiming the book "deceptive" in its references to the gap and stating: "The evidence is all that it's mostly the environment." Although confusing and inaccurate, that statement would at least qualify as relevant if *The Bell Curve* said the black–white IQ gap was mostly or entirely attributable to genetic factors. What the authors actually say is: "It seems likely to us that both genes and the environment have something to do with racial differences. What might the mix be? We are resolutely agnostic on that issue; so far as we can determine, the evidence does not justify an estimate."

Many other commentators have obsessively focused on the book's discussion of a possible genetic role in the black–white IQ gap—but not so obsessively that they were compelled to get things right. Among these writers was *New York Times* economist Peter Passell, who reviewed *The Bell Curve* in the *Times*, signing off with: "At least Rush Limbaugh has a sense of humor." Several paragraphs before this putdown, Passell represented Herrnstein and Murray as stating that 40 to 80 per cent of the racial difference is genetic. He had evidently

Mr. Seligman is a columnist at Fortune *magazine and the author of* A Question of Intelligence *(Citadel).*

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ing in check the darker angels of their nature, they become easily confused. For those with a high IQ, mixed cultural signals are difficult enough; for those of low IQ, the difficulties are even more severe.

Ordinary experience teaches one, paradoxically, that persons of low IQ are often happier than persons of high IQ. For one thing, they don't perceive all the differences and distinctions that the more intelligent perceive. Thus, they overlook some dangers and ambiguities, often to the benefit of their peace of mind if not their permanent safety. For another thing, they tend not to be quite so introspective; few spend a lot of time analyzing the movements of their psyches. Quite subtly, in fact, Herrnstein and Murray suggest a point most reviewers are ignoring: high IQ is often its own punishment.

Perhaps not coincidentally, since about 1950 the cultural elite has aggressively propagated what Lionel Trilling called "an adversary culture." Many things that earlier generations of Americans considered to be evil, the cultural elite now celebrates as good, and vice versa. We are in the grip of cultural warfare.

It is difficult enough for those of high IQ to know what to do, to discern the good to pursue and the evil to avoid. For those with less intelligence, chance and contingency are bound to play an even more powerful role. If they fall into good company, they are very lucky; if into bad, they may make a single mistake from which they will never recover. Those with fewer chances in life have much more to lose with every chance they bobble. In brief, Herrnstein and Murray accuse our society of failing those of lower IQ, most of all in the moral arena.

Besides being a reliable report on the state of psychological knowledge, the Herrnstein–Murray work is also, implicitly but unmistakably, a moral tract. Herrnstein and Murray show a far greater degree of empathy and concern for those of lower IQ than most readers will ever have encountered. They also diagnose much more clearly what those of lower IQ need, if they are to attain greater success in life and a higher degree of personal satisfaction. They diagnose, above all, how they are being betrayed by the cognitive elite.

Murray and Herrnstein have pointed an accusing finger at the cognitive elite, said publicly who they are, and diagnosed both the nature and the cause of their current intellectual and moral failures. Many in the cognitive elite are not taking this criticism well. □

not read the passage on pages 298–299 in which the authors explain why those figures apply to differences *within* racial groups but cannot be used to estimate differences *among* the groups.

The same confusion reigned on the *MacNeil–Lehrer NewsHour*. There was Robin MacNeil stating that "many scientists" attribute racial IQ differences to "circumstances and environment," then showing a film clip of Murray appearing to disagree with the scientists as he mentions the 40-to-80-per-cent figures for genes. The *Time* essay by Richard Lacayo mentions the midpoint of those figures—i.e., 60 per cent, which Herrnstein and Murray identify as their best guess for heritability in the population as a whole—and, once again, leaves you thinking this is their estimate of the genetic contribution to black–white differences. Also not getting it is *Washington Post* staff writer Barbara Vobejda, who notes that Herrnstein and Murray "say they believe both genes and environment contribute to the racial difference," then counterfactually adds: "But they go on to suggest that genetic factors are more important."

Wandering among other examples of confusion in the press coverage, one comes to the portentous opening thought in a major (i.e., long) *New York Times* editorial. "*The Bell Curve* advances a grisly thesis: IQ, largely inherited and intractable, dictates an individual's success . . ." In fact, *The Bell Curve* does not say that IQ "dictates" individual success. It says the opposite, in a passage italicized for emphasis: "*Measures of intelligence have reliable statistical relationships with important social phenomena, but they are a limited tool for deciding what to make of any given individual.*"

Attempting in *New York* magazine to depict Murray and his supporters as wild and irresponsible ("Who, Me? Prejudiced?" is the heavy-handed title), Jacob Weisberg at one point encourages you to cackle knowingly because Arthur Jensen, "the notorious psychometrician," said at an American Enterprise Institute conference on *The Bell Curve* that general intelligence "correlates to cranium size." Jacob, you could look it up. The correlation is weak but always positive (around .2 or .3).

The collection of howlers was substantially augmented by the October 31 issue of *The New Republic*. The original plan for that issue was simply to run an essay by Murray adapted from *The Bell Curve*. The plan engendered mass hysteria among editors and contributors, the end result of which was an issue containing not only the essay but 19 other articles, virtually all denouncing the book; many of the contributors had obviously not read it. Typical was the overheated contribution by Leon Wieseltier, who registered particular outrage over the idea that "the fate of individuals is determined by their membership in a group," a thought that appears nowhere in the book.

It is clear enough what *The Bell Curve*'s liberal critics want. They want its ideas suppressed. They want the data to go away. They want the authors depicted as kooks and extremists. The case made by the book is just too threatening to their own egalitarian ideologies, which typically depend on arguments for human malleability. Their arguments were crumbling even before this book came along, but until now it was often possible to ignore the evidence. Now they are reduced to misrepresenting it, and to lashing out at the messengers.

—Daniel Seligman

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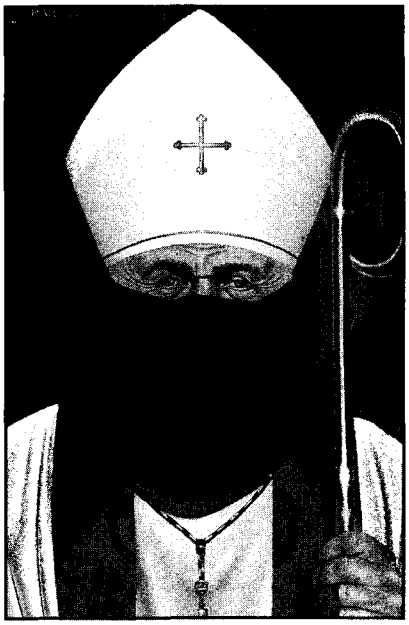

Mexico's Reactionary Revolutionaries

GUERRILLAS IN THE MIST

So far the rebels of Chiapas have been pretty vague about what they want. But since they admire Che Guevara and revile the United States, chances are it won't be good for Mexico.

ANTHONY DANIELS

REPORTS of the death of history are highly exaggerated, not least in Mexico. Ideological politics is now flourishing there, thanks to the sudden eruption of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN).

Last January 1, at the moment the North American Free Trade Agreement came into force, the city of San Cristóbal de las Casas and three other lesser towns in the remote state of Chiapas were occupied by armed men dressed in a rough military uniform. Most of them appeared to be Indians, and some were armed only with machetes or wooden imitation rifles. Their leaders were better armed and carried sophisticated communications equipment; they were masked in black woolen balaclava helmets.

The EZLN soon withdrew from the towns it had occupied, with the Mexican army in pursuit. But under pressure, President Salinas (whose own brother was once a Marxist guerrilla) declared a unilateral ceasefire, leaving the EZLN undefeated, still armed, and in control of the Lacandón jungle. Since then, desultory negotiations have been taking place between the government and the EZLN, without much progress. This is not surprising, because the latter is demanding the immediate resignation of the former.

The appearance of the EZLN took most of Mexico by surprise and altered the political landscape at a stroke. Before the first of January, Mexico was dreaming of becoming California: afterward, it suffered nightmares of degenerating into El Salvador.

During the civil wars in Central America, Mexico had congratulated itself on its immunity from such troubles, a sign of its supposedly greater maturity. And it was widely believed that Mexico had concluded a sensible and pragmatic agreement with Cuba, under which the Cubans would refrain from supporting rebellion in Mexico if Mexico would provide a safe haven for Guatemalan and other guerrillas.

Within 24 hours, this self-image was destroyed. What, everyone asked, had gone wrong? Chiapas is a poor, neglected, and backward state, a third of whose population is Indian. Nearly half a millennium after the Conquest, a fifth of the population speaks no Spanish. Chiapas has a larger proportion of homes without electricity than any other state in Mexico, even though two-thirds of Mexico's electricity is generated there. Infant mortality is the highest and life expectancy the lowest in the country.

Still, this could not be the entire explanation for the insurrection. Some Mexicans noted the presence of scores of thousands of Guatemalan refugees, many of whom had close contacts with the Guatemalan revolutionaries. They also cited the presence for thirty years in Chiapas of Bishop Samuel Ruiz, an energetic supporter of liberation theology.

Ruiz has always condemned violence, and a powerful campaign is being mounted for him to receive the Nobel Peace Prize because of his work among the Guatemalan refugees and his advocacy on behalf of the Indians. The door of his own cathedral is posted with propaganda in favor of his nomination, and if it is unlikely that he put it there himself, neither does he insist upon its removal. On the other hand, crude fliers are to be seen throughout his diocesan city of San Cristóbal accusing him of treachery to the *patria* and demanding that he leave Mexico; one cannot see them without thinking of death squads.

But the bishop's "preferential option for the poor" is not merely a call to charitable action, and his demand for justice for the Indians of Chiapas is not merely a demand for the cessation of abuses committed against them. Samuel Ruiz believes that poverty is caused by oppression (in other words, that Man is born rich), that middlemen such as bankers and merchants are bloodsuckers, that Mexico is the victim of North American exploitation, that the marketplace is always and only heartless and cruel, and that communal effort is necessarily more ethical and Christian than individual endeavor. He believes that the privatization of Mexico's bloated state-owned companies is anti-Christian, as if Christ came into the world for the sake of nationalized corporations. He says noth-

Dr. Daniels, a physician, is the author of Utopias Elsewhere *(Crown).*

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ing about the ethics or the economic effects of inflated payrolls such as that of Pemex, the state-owned oil monopoly, which managed to cut its work force in half while maintaining oil production at its previous level.

Clearly, the bishop's views are not completely incompatible with a revolutionary outlook, which is all the more significant when one realizes that he and his acolytes have trained eight thousand lay catechists (nearly 1 per cent of the Indian population of Chiapas) in the tenets of liberation theology. The material to be found in the diocesan bookshop, which the catechists use, is often deeply anti-American, with crude cartoons of Uncle Sam as a rapacious predator. And some of the liberation-theology literature available in the shop is not at all opposed to violence. Consider, for example, the following quotation from Armando Noquez's book *Palabra de vida* (Word of Life):

> But in some historical circumstances, the war of liberation . . . acts as a spur to the raising of the cultural level. . . . The armed struggle for liberation requires the significant mobilization and organization of the population . . . [and] the progressive liquidation of the remains of the colonial mentality, the rejection of social and religious taboos which inhibit the development of the struggle. . . . An insurrection inspired by religious motives in the consciousness of a people is unstoppable and indomitable.

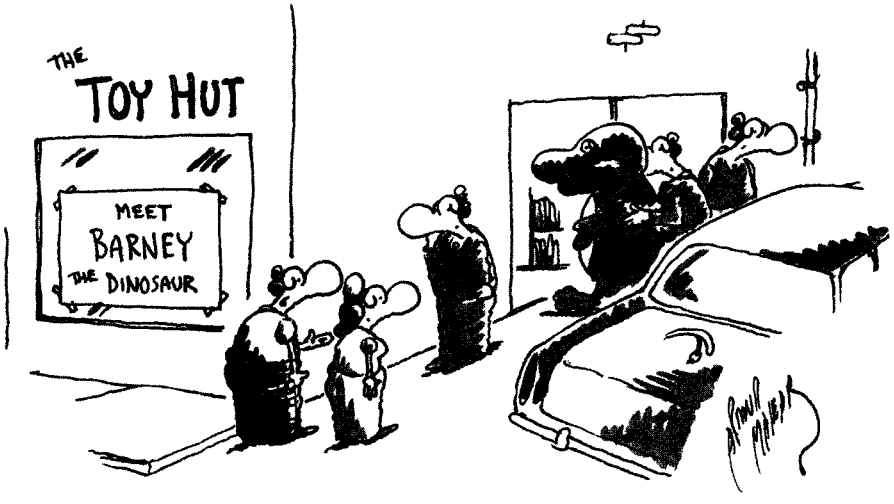
Thus the idea that Ruiz, whether deliberately or not, has fomented revolution is not entirely absurd.

Bad Examples

SOME Mexicans initially feared that the EZLN had some connection with Peru's Shining Path movement. Like the latter, it had built up its organization secretly for ten years before declaring its existence; and like the latter, it declared war on the government on a significant day (in Peru, the day of the return to civilian rule after military dictatorship; in Mexico, the day NAFTA went into effect). In each case, military intelligence about the group was available to the government, which chose for political reasons not to act upon it.

The EZLN also has a close similarity, at least in its origins, with another of Latin America's guerrilla organizations, the Guerrilla Army of the Poor (EGP) in Guatemala. Like the EGP, the EZLN was started by a small group of educated and armed *ladinos* who went into a remote jungle area to learn about the conditions of the Indians. In other words, the will to revolution preceded knowledge about the supposed need for it.

Nevertheless, the EZLN differs in certain respects from all other such organizations. Its apparent leader is a man called Subcomandante Marcos, whose true identity is still a mystery, though it is known from interviews that he comes (as is usually the case with revolutionaries) from a middle-class, university-educated background. Appearing always in his black balaclava helmet, smoking a pipe, frequently joking, and able to charm and



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manipulate the media, he has captured the imagination of many Mexicans. Women are said to swoon over him as over a star of a *telenovela* (soap opera); he writes innumerable communiqués, sometimes in poetic language, which the press reprints in full.

Marcos has not made the mistake of declaring the aims of the EZLN in any detail, which allows everyone to see him as a chivalrous knight, rather than a rigid ideologue. He is careful to appear as a patriotic and indeed nationalist Mexican, and the public demands of the EZLN are for democracy, freedom, and justice, demands with which only a de Maistre or Pobedonostsev could disagree. The question is, what is justice?

The EZLN says it wants free, open, and clean elections, without the traditional Mexican resort to fraud, which is a laudable enough aim. But the EZLN denies that it is a political party itself (rather, it is a "movement") and insists that it does not seek power and would not take part in elections. But since it will not lay down its arms until "justice" is achieved, what it evidently seeks is to be the final arbiter of Mexican politics.

Moreover, it is unlikely that a middle-class intellectual such as Marcos should have spent a decade hiding out in a rain forest in order to procure fair and square elections, in which those with political views very different from his own might well triumph. A man does what Marcos has done only if he is in possession of the truth.

And what this truth is may be guessed from a ceremony held in EZLN territory to commemorate the 27th anniversary of the death of the *Comandante de las Americas*, Ernesto "Che" Guevara. "Where there are rich and poor," an officer of the EZLN said at the ceremony, "there is no justice." Not exactly an original or profound thought, but one that is certainly capable of inspiring men to lay waste a countryside and decimate a population, if history is anything to judge by.

The Institutional Revolution

THE Mexican government has been severely handicapped by several factors in its dealings with the EZLN. The first is its lack of legitimacy. The ruling party (the Institutional Revolutionary Party, or PRI) and the Mexican state are so closely intertwined, and the history of electoral fraud is so long and deep, that even if genuine elections were held and the PRI won them, no one—least of all the PRI itself—would believe it. And because the party has held so strong a grip on Mexican society, many of the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie owe their advancement to political connections rather than to business talent, which undermines their own legitimacy; their wealth is popularly ascribed wholly to privilege and corruption.

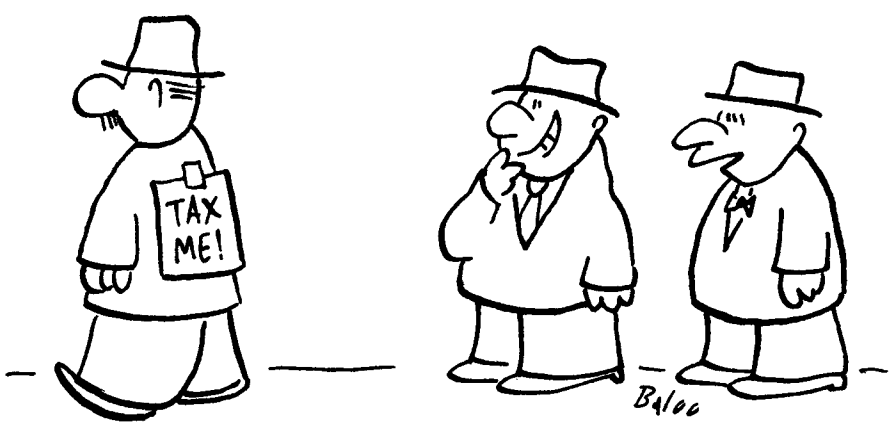
But if Mexico is not a genuine democracy, neither is it a genuine dictatorship. The government cannot just ignore public opinion, and that opinion has been formed by a prolonged attitude of uncritical adulation toward the very idea of revolution. The governing party itself claims to be revolutionary, at least in descent; and the overwhelming majority of Mexican intellectuals and literary figures have been partisans of the Left.

It is not surprising, then, that the EZLN has aroused great sympathy in Mexico, regardless of what it really stands for or where it would lead the country if it achieved power. In Chiapas a cottage industry has grown up making Zapatista dolls for sale to tourists; propaganda for the EZLN is distributed without interference, and front organizations claiming solidarity with the people of Chiapas collect food and money for the EZLN. In the main square of Oaxaca I watched a two-hour film extolling the guerrillas. And it is a sign of how far Mexico has entered the modern world, with its tendency to trivialize even the most serious matters, that Subcomandante Marcos is often described as a "superstar."

The EZLN benefits from powerful currents of discontent in Mexico. The peasantry feels both neglected and threatened. As always, the peasants believe they sell cheap and buy dear because of crooked middlemen. But now a new grievance has been added. The government is changing the inefficient system of communal landholding to a system of private property, in the hope of raising productivity. The peasants fear the new competitive environment, not only for its economic but also for its cultural effects.

These fears are shared by the pullulating bureaucrats, redundant in all but the salary checks they receive, and the employees of inefficient state-run organizations. Above all, the intellectuals fear that the creation of a mass consumer society, along North American lines, will not only destroy Mexico's cultural distinctiveness but also reduce greatly their own significance in national life. When shopping is brought within the reach of all, no one pays much attention to intellectuals and their products.

The choice of January 1 as the date for the start of the rebellion was thus a shrewd piece of political timing, a *coup de théâtre* that articulated the inchoate anxieties of millions of Mexicans. In the uprising of the EZLN, *México profundo*—the deep Mexico of the slums, the peasants, and the Indians, not the *México superficial* of shopping malls, highways, and *telenovelas*—had spoken. Deemed by intellectuals to possess all kinds of virtues because of its poverty, *México profundo* therefore needs, in their estimation, a return to the past of communal landholding, state ownership of the means of production, autochthonous development,



"Fun is fun, Fred, but that's downright vicious."

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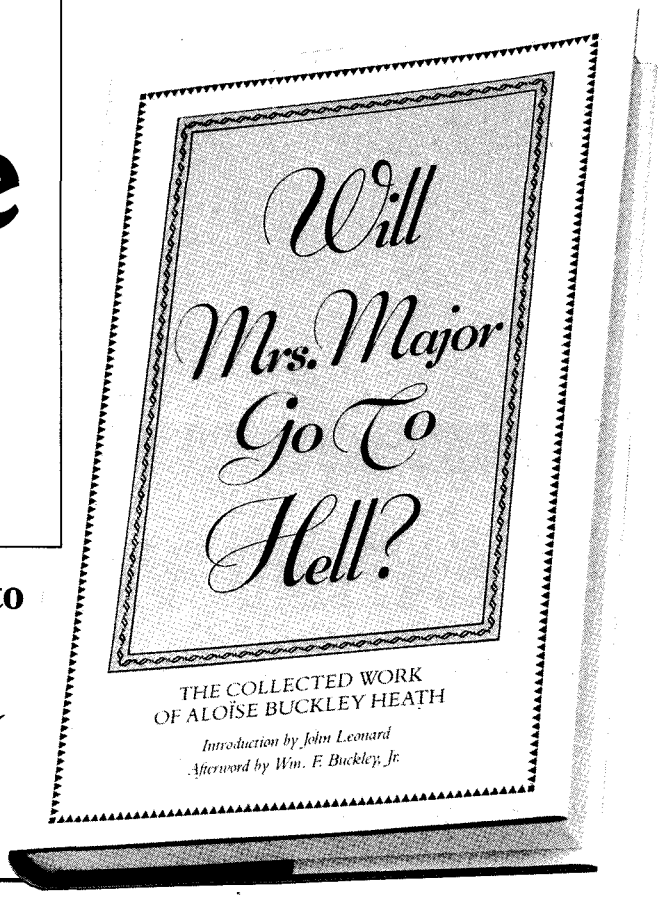
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Introduction by John Leonard
Afterword by Wm. F. Buckley, Jr.

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Here is what the "Book-of-the-Month Club News" said about **Will Mrs. Major Go to Hell?** when it was first published:

> "It may be the warmest, funniest book about suburban family life since *Please Don't Eat the Daisies*, and it suggests that a true talent was lost when Mrs. Heath died at the untimely age of 48. She was one of ten children and had ten of her own, which helps explain why she was busy. The picture she gives of the way her family lived is both touching and hilarious, and she also casts a wry glance at the social scene in such pieces as one entitled 'Ladies Month in the Slicks,' wherein she notes, regarding the suggestion that harried housewives be given a paid-up charm course for Christmas. 'This gift had better be limited to harried housewives you know very well indeed.'"

...and we honestly can't remember when we've seen a more tender, poignant collection of stories. The late Aloïse Buckley Heath (William F. Buckley Jr.'s sister) wrote some absolutely priceless things about her own family, and the early days of *National Review*, plus some marvelously funny satirical observations on our contemporary habits and institutions.

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and anti-gringo nationalism. In this sense, the EZLN may be considered profoundly reactionary, as many of Mexico's rebels have been.

The Mexican government can neither repress nor accede to the demands of the EZLN. It can only play for time and hope that prosperity will reduce the allure of the guerrillas. Its economic policies will inevitably reduce the role of the PRI in Mexican life. But Subcomandante Marcos will not be content to wait forever, and it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that he will unleash a devastating civil war. The first ten days in January resulted in several hundred deaths and 20,000 refugees. There are reports of coercion behind EZLN lines and of the abandonment of government-run clinics there. It is worth recalling that a million people died during the Mexican Revolution of 1910 at a time when the population was a fraction the size of today's, and weapons on all sides were much less powerful. History has not yet come to a full stop south of the border. □

The Kelly Michaels Case

CREATING VICTIMS

For sex-abuse investigators, badgering children into making false accusations is all in a day's work.

RICH LOWRY

JOHNNY said he was hungry. "You're hungry?" asked the social worker investigating charges of child abuse. "Okay. You tell me why you want to hit the . . . doll and I'll give you something to eat." Johnny insisted there was nothing to talk about. "Okay," the adult replied, "then I'm gonna stay here and we're gonna keep going on with this. It's okay with me. 'Cause I'm here to help you, and I know you want to tell me something and I'll stay here all day till you tell me."

Johnny was one of the children in 23-year-old Kelly Michaels's class at the Wee Care Nursery School in Maplewood, New Jersey. Interviews like this one help explain how Miss Michaels, well-liked by her young charges and respected by her colleagues, could have been indicted on more than 200 counts of child sex abuse without a single unprompted witness or a shred of physical evidence.

The case demonstrates vividly the officially sanctioned child abuse that can occur when sex-crime investigators refuse to take no for an answer. Parents aghast at the initial allegations, therapists with a financial stake in such cases, and social workers conditioned to expect pervasive sex abuse badger children with questions and suggestions until the children come to believe they have been subjected to unspeakable acts—and suffer the same psychological trauma they would if these acts had really occurred. If the prosecutor is a crusader—like Janet Reno, who was involved in two such cases while a prosecutor in Florida—the accused can get a throw-away-the-key prison term.

Miss Michaels did. In 1988 she was convicted on 115 counts of child abuse and sentenced to 47 years in prison. She spent 5 years behind bars before an appellate court overturned her conviction last March. In June the New Jersey Supreme Court affirmed the lower court's ruling that, because the investigation was deeply flawed, a hearing on the reliability of the children's testimony would have to be held before a retrial. The decision was another blow to the Essex County prosecutors handling the case, who had taken a drubbing on the April 10 *60 Minutes*. And in October lack of evidence led them to drop year-old sex-abuse charges against a principal and seven others in Belleville, New Jersey.

But the prosecutors still maintain that Kelly Michaels is a danger to the public, and they have until November 28 to decide if they will seek a second trial. Even if they finally drop the charges, as now seems likely, the Michaels case remains a cautionary tale about the danger of state power in the service of trendy social theory.

The case, like many others, began with an ambiguous remark. After having his temperature taken with a rectal thermometer, a child commented, "Oh, this is what my teacher does to me at nap time at school." (Wee Care teachers did take children's temperatures—with a plastic strip across the forehead.) The suspicions generated by this remark were passed on to the police; in May 1985 they questioned Miss Michaels, who waived her *Miranda* rights, for nine hours. She passed a polygraph test denying the allegations.

But the investigation continued, and 6 initial charges had grown into 235 by the fall. Child-abuse experts told parents in meetings at Wee Care that abuse had occurred there and urged them to find out if their children had been among the victims. Then, as the county prosecutor's office was wrapping up its investigation, an investigator from the Department of Youth and Family Services (DYFS), Lou Fonolleras, took up the case. Mr. Fonolleras (who, it was revealed at the first trial, had himself been abused as a child) and his colleagues conducted massive interviews with the children.

The earliest interviews, including those that resulted in the initial charges, were not recorded. But the ones the interviewers did record relied on various methods that psychological research shows are apt to lead a child to lie. Mr. Fonolleras and his colleagues asked leading questions: "How did Kelly hurt you with the knife?" They offered rewards: "I will get you a badge if you help us get this information . . ." They insinuated a negative view of Miss Michaels: "Kelly got caught and she is in a lot of trouble . . ." They invoked peer pressure: "Boy, I'd hate having to tell your friends that you didn't want to help them." And they exulted in crudity: "Where's that?" Mr. Fonolleras asked one child. "The butt," the child replied. "The butt!" said Fonolleras. "I love the way she says 'butt.' Boy, she's being really helpful, isn't she?"

Mr. Lowry is NR's national political reporter.

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Remarks like these weren't the exception; they were standard operating procedure, appearing in almost every recorded interview. One, with two investigators interrogating one child, exemplifies how the DYFS not only didn't "believe the children"—the motto of supporters of the prosecution—but bullied them into submission:

Q: Did she put the fork in your butt? Yes or no?

A: I don't know, I forgot . . . I hate you.

Q: Aw, come on, Peter, if you just answer that, you can go.

A: I hate you!

Q: Oh, no you don't.

A: Yes, I do.

Q: You love me, I can tell. Is that all she did to you? What [did] she do to your hiney?

Q: What did she do to your hiney? Then you can go.

A: I forgot.

Q: Tell me what Kelly did to your hiney and then you can go. If you tell me what she did to your hiney, we'll let you go.

A: No.

Q: Please.

A: Okay, okay, okay.

Q: Tell me now . . . what did Kelly do to your hiney?

A: I'll try to remember.

Q: What did she put in your hiney?

A: The fork?

Q: Did that hurt a lot? Did you bleed?

A: Nope.

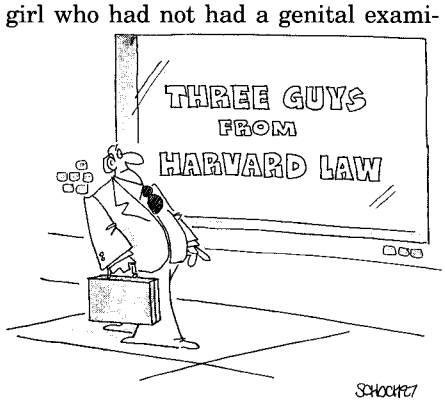
Do Children Lie?

THE premise of such baldly coercive tactics is that children don't lie; once the barriers of denial are broken down, they only tell the truth. Leaving aside the contradiction (if what the children say later is the truth, then they were lying when they said they couldn't remember), research shows that not only can children lie, they will do so extravagantly and with conviction.

In one study by psychologists at Cornell and McGill, a man called "Sam Stone" came to a preschool classroom, staying for only a few minutes. The children were then given four interviews over a ten-week period in which the interviewer falsely suggested that Stone had spilled chocolate on a teddy bear and ripped a book during his visit. At the end of the ten weeks, 72 per cent of the youngest preschoolers in the study were saying, as if they had observed it, that Sam Stone had indeed dirtied the bear, torn the book, or both. The false accounts were so detailed—for instance, one child said Sam Stone had gone to a corner store to buy chocolate ice cream—and the children were so convincing that 1,000 experts shown tapes of the children's accounts couldn't tell which were false.

Then there is the question of so-called "anatomically correct" dolls. The dolls, with their exposed genitals, are meant to provide a vehicle for children to demonstrate past acts of abuse. Investigators relied on them heavily in the Michaels case. In 24 out of 39 sessions, they introduced the dolls before children had reported abuse. In 17 out of the 39, children were given silverware along with the dolls. Mr. Fonolleras explained to one reluctant child how it worked: "Anyway, what I did is show the kids dolls, like this, and then I pull out this stuff. A wooden spoon, a fork, a knife, and a teaspoon, a metal spoon . . ." He then asked questions like: "Why don't you show me what Kelly did to Sally with the fork?" Often the child would stab the doll in the neck or in the eye, prompting Mr. Fonolleras to ask: "Where else?" until the child hit the right spot and he had evidence of another victim.

But rather than "anatomically correct," these dolls are best described as "anatomically exaggerated," and research shows they are so suggestive that even without leading questions they can elicit inaccurate statements from children. In another study by the same Cornell and McGill researchers, a group of 3-year-olds was sent to a pediatrician for a check-up; half had a routine genital examination, half did not. Immediately after the exam, half the children who had had no exam answered "yes" when a researcher, pointing to the genitals of a doll, asked if they had been touched there. That's five minutes after the fact. In yet another study, six days after a check-up a girl who had not had a genital examination was hammering a stick and inserting a toy ear scope into a doll to demonstrate what she said happened when the doctor examined her.



So the memories of children, if not exactly blank slates, are extremely open to suggestion. Mr. Fonolleras and his colleagues apparently chose to do everything possible to impress upon these particular children bizarre, sadistic sexual fantasies. The accusations, some of which were so outlandish that even the prosecution disregarded them, obviously owe more to a world of make-believe than to any world where the rules of physiology or common sense apply.

The central accusation against Kelly Michaels is that for seven months she regularly—every day, according to one child—brought the dozen children under her care from the basement classroom where they gathered during nap time to a ground-floor gym or second-floor choir room. This would happen without the teacher in the adjacent basement classroom, separated by just a vinyl curtain, noticing. Nor did anyone else—including eight teachers and their aides, two administrators, seven officials of the church where Wee Care was housed, parents and parishioners who came and went—ever see Miss Michaels and 12 children making their way upstairs at that hour, even though they would have had to pass the administrative offices of the church, the administrative offices of Wee Care, the kitchen, the teachers' lounge, and the kindergarten room.

Once in the gym or the choir room (which church officials might enter at any time), Miss Michaels allegedly would strip all the children, spread silverware on the floor, and make the children pile up on one another. She and the children would allegedly defecate and urinate on the floor, on the piano bench, and on one another. She would smear peanut butter and jelly on them and then she and the kids lick it off. She would force the boys to have intercourse with her, and she would stab the children with knives and forks and Lego toys. After 45 minutes, she would dress all the children again—never, so far as anyone noticed, getting so much as a sock out of place—and tip-toe with them back to the basement classroom, where they would appear well-rested and ready to complete the day.

(Continues on page 81)

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THE VICE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON

November 10, 1994

Dear Rusty,

You know what? I am not depressed. I am not upset. I am energized. I am looking forward to working with the Republican House and Senate. And do you know why? Because I love a challenge. I do. You know that I do. Am I bothered by the midterm elections? Of course I am. I'm also bothered by the fact that chlorofluorocarbon emissions are sky high and that our neighbors in Kalorama didn't compost. But I learned to live with it.

Tipper has locked herself in our bedroom. She's been hitting the doughnuts pretty hard. Ever since Tuesday night, it's been a steady stream of Snickers bars, doughnuts, coffee, and now cigarettes.

Dad called late Tuesday night. At least I think it was Dad. All I could hear was a low chuckle and some ice tinkling in a glass. I was watching the returns and I pressed "mute" on the remote.

"Dad?" I said into the receiver.

"Well, boy, how many times does a man have to hit his thumb with a hammer until he up and gets himself a bigger nail?"

I couldn't hear the rest of the homily because Tipper was struggling with a bag of Doritos, just as Mario Cuomo called it quits. By the time I looked up from the set, her face was smeared with a bright orange powder.

"Cookies," she growled. "Need cookies."

"But Tip," I said, "you've been doing so well with your diet."

She growled again, and bared her teeth a bit.

"Tipper, you're taking this too hard. So what if the Republicans control the Congress. They'll get trapped in the same quicksand that we've been trapped in for 42 years. Do you honestly think that Bill, HRC, and I can't govern without a majority? C'mon. If Reagan could do it, so can I."

Just then, Tom Foley conceded to George Nethercutt, and Tipper stormed to the bedroom and locked the door.

What could I do? I hopped in a car and headed over to the White House. I knew Bill and HRC would be watching the returns, and thought they might want to see a friendly face. Upstairs, Bill, HRC, Leon Panetta, and Tony Coelho were gathered around the big-screen TV that Don Tyson bought them for Christmas last year. They didn't look happy. Except for HRC, who had a strange smile on her face.

"Al, it's a complete rout," Bill cried.

"It's the worst loss in American political history," Leon moaned.

"I'd like my check now," Tony said. "I have a car waiting downstairs. See, I'm kind of working on the float, if you know what I mean."

"C'mon guys, cheer up," I said. "We're better with our back against the wall, remember? We love a challenge. We're the comeback children."

"Al's right," HRC chimed in. "We're taking this way, way, way too seriously. What we have to do is relax and wash away all the bad feelings."

"Honey?" Bill said to HRC.

"Yes, my love?"

"I think that's enough Prozac for one night, 'kay?"

"Just one more? Please? Please?"

Just then Rostenkowski conceded. Bill tossed HRC a small prescription bottle.

"Finish it up, sweetheart. We'll get more."

I was a little taken aback. "Gosh, Bill," I said, "I didn't know HRC had a prescription for Prozac."

"Oh yeah," he answered. "I fixed it so she gets refills until January 21, 1997."

"What happens then?"

"At that point, my friend, she and I will build houses for the poor."

Bill got up, took HRC by the hand, and went to bed. Leon and I watched CNN in silence for a while.

"The way I look at it," Leon said, "Bob Kerrey is now the most powerful Democrat in the country."

"How do you figure that?"

"Well, the press loves him, he's seen as a moderate, and best of all, his Commission on Entitlements will issue its report at precisely the time when the American people are most receptive to its tough recommendations. If I were giving him political advice, I'd be telling him to prepare to run against Bill in the '96 primaries."

"Really?"

"Really. But I think I can work with him."

"Great. That'll really help me and Bill."

"You misunderstood. I think I can work with him. I'm faxing him my resume tomorrow."

He got up from the couch and grabbed his coat.

And I was alone with Tony Coelho. I watched the TV in silence for a bit, but I was aware that Tony was staring at me intently. Finally, I turned and looked at him.

"How much you got on you?" he asked.

"Not much, Tony. I'm pretty much tapped out."

Your pal, Al

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RICHARD JOHN NEUHAUS

WITHIN A FEW days of its release this elegantly produced book began its rapid climb to the top of the best-seller lists. And a good thing, too, at least from the viewpoint of the publisher, who had put up $8.5 million in advance for the privilege of bringing out the American edition. Many people were disappointed by the postponement of the Pope's October visit to the U.S., but Knopf was staggered. The entire promotional campaign was hitched to that visit. Not to worry.

With the new *Catechism of the Catholic Church* selling more than three million copies in its first months, and now with the success of *Crossing the Threshold of Hope* it seems that this has been something of a banner year for things Catholic. And in the case of the *Catechism* and the present book, we have very orthodox and authoritative versions of things Catholic. You don't get more orthodox or authoritative than Pope John Paul II or than Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, who was chiefly responsible for the *Catechism*. Among putatively dispirited, divided, and alienated American Catholics these two books should have sunk without a trace. And then there are all the non-Catholics who are reportedly buying them.

Crossing the Threshold of Hope, by Pope John Paul II (Knopf, 244 pp., $20)

A *catechism*, for heaven's sake. The very word smacks of adolescent indoctrination and rote learning of an era long and happily past. As for *Crossing*, try persuading a marketing department that you're going to sell several million copies of the Pope's philosophical and theological reflections on the nature of God, how to pray, and why personalism is a necessary complement to the thought of St. Thomas Aquinas. No doubt there were those at Knopf who thought some of their colleagues had gone crazy. The really crazy ones, however, were Leonardo Mondadori of the Mondadori publishing empire in Italy, who handled worldwide rights to *Crossing*, and Joaquín Navarro-Valls, press director of the Holy See. Crazy like a fox. One result is more than $20 million in advances, which will be given to Church-related charities.

The more important result is that millions of people will be given an insight into the mind and heart of John Paul II. As he would adamantly insist, much more important yet is the possibility that they might come to a new understanding of the message of Jesus and what it means to be one of His disciples. I read the book within a few days of a long and lively dinner with the Pope, to which I had been invited along with two friends. That's heavy-duty name-dropping, admittedly, but I mention it because it enables me to say what this book is like. It is like extending the dinner conversation for another ten hours or so, with an open invitation to ask the Pope, even to press him, about whatever you most want to know. As in personal conversation, so also in this book, his responses are engaged, earnest, learned, sometimes whimsical, always winsome, and marked by an infectious sense that history and our lives in history are part of a great mystery, at the heart of which there is reason for hope.

Roman Genn

The promotional hype for *Crossing* says that a book of informal and unofficial reflections by a Pope is "unprecedented." That's not quite the case. This Pope has had at least four books of homilies, devotional reflections, and essays published, none of which caused much of a stir beyond the circle of those who are students of the thought of Karol Wojtyla. This book is different in the way it came about. In order to mark the 15th anniversary of his pontificate in October 1993, something truly unprecedented was planned. John Paul II was going to give an extended television interview that would be broadcast simultaneously around the world. For a number of reasons that plan was shelved, but the Pope had the questions that Vittorio Messori, the scheduled interviewer, had intended to ask. The Pope thought they were very good questions, and so from time to time, early in the morning or late at night, or in moments snatched from his heavily scheduled days, he began to jot down responses. His jottings grew and grew, and by the spring of this year there was something that looked very much like a book. The result is not unprecedented in the sense advertised, but there has never been anything quite like *Crossing the Threshold of Hope*.

The conversation ranges widely, as good conversations tend to do. Whether God is hiding or has revealed Himself so fully that we are offended by His appearance. How true prayer is not something we start but a Divine initiative within us. The ways in which we can and cannot say that God intervenes in history, for example in putting an end to Communism. Why are there so many religions, and is it really true that the Roman Catholic Church is the only true Church? How is it that Jews are so much closer to Christians than are Muslims? Amid the encircling gloom of a "culture of death," why does the Pope anticipate the Third Millennium as a time of promise rather than

Father Neuhaus is editor-in-chief of First Things: A Monthly Journal of Religion and Public Life.

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apocalyptic catastrophe? Does he sometimes doubt that he really is the successor of Peter, that the Church really is guided by the Holy Spirit, that the Christian Gospel really is true? And, come now, Holy Father, is it not the case that the world has moved on, leaving the Church in the backwater of history, especially with respect to sexual morality, marriage, and antiquated notions about the dignity of the person, born and unborn? Were the reader at the dinner table, and had he the nerve for it, these are the kinds of questions he might ask. They are among the questions asked in this book, and from the way he responds it is obvious that the Pope welcomes, even relishes, them.

As one who has lived under Nazism and Communism, who has several times walked through "the valley of the shadow" and been close to death, and who has written profoundly on St. John of the Cross and "the dark night of the soul," John Paul does not need to be told about the reasons for drawing back from the threshold of hope. Nonetheless, he urges us to cross that threshold, the threshold of love, the threshold of faith. On the dust-jacket, in his own handwriting, is "Be not afraid." That was the theme of his sermon when he was installed as the Bishop of Rome on October 22, 1978, and it recurs incessantly through all his public pronouncements. "Be not afraid" was, to be sure, addressed to Christians behind the Iron Curtain, but it is much more comprehensively addressed to the entire world. By His incarnation in Jesus Christ, the Pope is saying, God has committed Himself to the human project, and He will bring it off. Father Avery Dulles has described the substance and style of this Pope as "prophetic humanism," and that catches it very nicely.

It is probable that nobody knows the confusion, fragmentation, and signs of decay in the Church and in the world so well as John Paul. The vibrant hopefulness that he evinces in the face of it all is no doubt partly a matter of personal disposition. And it is partly a matter of his reading of "the signs of the times." Noting the response to his pontificate, the response of young people when called to radical discipleship, and the response to initiatives such as the *Catechism*, he says, "The world, tired of ideology, is opening itself to truth. The time has come when the splendor of this truth (*veritatis splendor*) has begun anew to illuminate the darkness of human existence." Pollyannish? Far from it. It is an intuition that ours is a *kairos*—a time of Providentially appointed meeting between Divine grace and human freedom.

Among the most affecting parts of the book are the Pope's reflections on his work with young people in Poland, before he was made a bishop. "Christ is forever young," he says. "As a young priest I learned to love human love. This has been one of the fundamental themes of my priesthood. . . . If one loves human love, there arises the need to commit oneself completely to the service of 'fair love,' because love is fair, it is beautiful." What is called love is too often destructively disordered, but "in the depths of their hearts [young people] still desire a beautiful and pure love." Human love is on a continuum with the love of God. Love for the other is ultimately love for the Other, for God. In this connection he reflects on the "philosophers of dialogue" who have influenced him deeply, especially the Jewish thinkers Martin Buber and Emmanuel Levinas.

The Pope mentions repeatedly the importance of World Youth Day, an institution that arose several years into his pontificate and which brings together hundreds of thousands, even millions, of young people from all over the world. His spirits were lifted by the World Youth Day in Denver in August of 1993, a gathering larger and, he obviously believes, more indicative of the future than Woodstock. "It is not true that the Pope brings the young from one end of the world to the other. It is they who bring him. Even though he is getting older, they urge him to be young, they do not permit him to forget his experience, his discovery of youth, and its great importance for the life of every man." Liberals who would trim the faith to fit the fashions of the time, who would blunt the hard edges of Christ's calling to live in *veritatis splendor*, are missing the point. They are yesterday; today and tomorrow belong to those who have a clear, compelling, and demanding answer to the yearning for holiness.

This is bracing stuff. It makes risible the numerous press reports depicting the book as the "last will and testament" of a "dying old man." He is almost 75 now, and the slow healing after the surgery on his hip makes it difficult for him to walk, but both per-

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sonally and in this book he evidences a vibrant confidence that, God willing, he will lead the Catholic Church across the threshold of the Third Millennium. This is a young man who makes his many detractors, in both the Church and the general culture, seem old and tired by comparison. Not every page of *Crossing the Threshold of Hope* is an "aha" moment, not every question is as pointed as it might be, and the theologically untrained may not catch every reference, but I have no doubt that the cumulative effect of the book will be for many readers a life-transforming experience. □

Christian Coalition?

JAMES HITCHCOCK

FEW POLITICAL movements have been prematurely counted out as often as the "religious Right," most of the predictions of whose demise are wishful thinking on the part of supposedly objective analysts. A conference sponsored by the Ethics and Public Policy Center—whose proceedings constitute *Disciples and Democracy*, edited by Michael Cromartie—predicted a hearty future for the movement. However, a book by Ralph Reed, perhaps the most prominent figure on the religious Right, gives one reason to wonder.

Highlights of the Cromartie volume include a paper by a consortium of political scientists carefully analyzing the 1992 election returns. The group concludes that on balance the abortion issue, and the religious Right generally, helped George Bush, even though many Evangelicals stayed home on election day. Fred Barnes offers a sensible and trenchant account of media attitudes toward the movement and suggests hopefully that at least some reporters now realize they have been unfair. George Weigel, the EPPC's president, makes his own balanced assessment, in particular warning the movement not to lose its soul in the political thicket. Each paper is followed by several comments, most from people sympathetic to the movement, a few from people classifiable as skeptics.

Disciples and Democracy: Religious Conservatives and the Future of American Politics, edited by Michael Cromartie (Ethics and Public Policy Center, 152 pp., $12.99)

Politically Incorrect: The Emerging Faith Factor in Public Life, by Ralph Reed (Word Publishing, 267 pp., $19.99)

The first paper in the volume is by Mr. Reed, director of the Christian Coalition, a political organization established by Pat Robertson. Mr. Reed's own book is an expanded version of that paper. Ironically, his paper is the only one in the collection that causes me misgivings, although not for the reasons that perhaps might be expected, such as the charge that the movement is fanatical and inept.

By now, conservative Christians have learned the obvious lessons about public image and about the need to present their message in ways that might persuade non-believers. Indeed, they have become so conscious of those obligations that Mr. Weigel can aptly warn that "civility is the last refuge of the moral coward."

Mr. Reed sets out to show that the religious Right has been treated shabbily in the media, indeed that it is far more sinned against than sinning; to demonstrate that its positions are wholly in harmony with mainstream American society; to urge on his fellows the obligation to seek allies outside their ranks; and to indicate the directions in which the movement should now go. In my judgment he is successful in all but the last.

As the political scientist James C. Green points out in *Disciples and Democracy*, the religious Right is indispensable to the Republican Party, but in itself is not sufficient to guarantee Republican victories. In part Mr. Reed seeks to resolve that dilemma by showing the movement how to form broader coalitions. Thus he readily proposes as integral elements in its agenda issues ranging from the line-item veto and a balanced-budget amendment to lower taxes and term limits, showing that each of these causes has broad citizen support.

But, as Mr. Weigel and others point out in the EPPC symposium, it is difficult to find explicit religious warrant for the conservative (or liberal) position on any of those issues. There may be excellent secular reasons for supporting all of them, but what makes them Christian?

Abortion has been the single most effective issue in galvanizing the religiously conservative into political action. Yet Mr. Reed's solution to the problem of abortion is a return to states' rights. When one critic (at the EPPC symposium) points out that this would merely give each state the right to enact *Roe* v. *Wade,* Mr. Reed's only response is to say he abhors that court decision, which is no answer at all. He goes on to argue that every state should have the right to outlaw abortion—except in cases of rape, incest, and when the life of the mother is endangered. But any sophisticated student of the issue knows that such legislated exceptions could be used to reduce the force of all restrictions, perhaps to the point of meaninglessness. And why does Mr. Reed implicitly deny to any state the right to outlaw abortion completely?

He also, in an oddly triumphant mood, points out that exit polls in 1992 seemed to show that self-described "born-again" Christians did not rate abortion high among their priorities, and he dismisses impressions to the contrary as merely a "stereotype." But if true, such polls suggest a massive moral and educational failure on the part of the churches, not something to justify complacent acquiescence by the Christian Coalition.

But there may be method in this seeming madness. Mr. Green and his colleagues show the crucial importance of the Perot vote in defeating George Bush in 1992. Since Perot voters tend to be economic conservatives who are nonetheless as liberal on the social issues as are die-hard Democrats, it would be unnatural if Republican strategists were not even now salivating over those votes and wondering how to corral them without losing the Evangelicals. Perhaps Mr. Reed's version of the religious Right seeks to present a winning formula to attract just those voters: reaffirming the characteristically religious issues but subordinating them to economic issues in the

Mr. Hitchcock is a professor of history at St. Louis University. His most recent book is Years of Crisis, 1970–1983 *(Ignatius).*

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hope that many Perot supporters will choose to overlook the specifically Christian elements in the Coalition.

In offering his "moderate" states'-rights approach to abortion, Mr. Reed even assures us that very few states would be likely to take advantage of their right to restrict the practice. And he is far clearer on how he would solve the budget crisis than on how he would deal with, for example, pornography or secularized public education.

Mr. Reed thinks he is building an enduring conservative coalition. But in the process he leaves himself and his organization open to the suspicion that, for them, electoral success outweighs moral consistency. □

The Case of the Baffled Professor

DAVID MARTIN

ALAS FOR THE brevity of human fame. In the Sixties the Harvard theologian Harvey Cox was famous for a book called *Religion in the Secular City*. That book welcomed the modern world as a Christian epiphany and was designed to address the needs of a religionless society, such as some academic sages of that time confidently predicted. Indeed, some thought Mr. Cox himself one of those sages, and he was generally said to have provided a sociological extension of the writings of the "Death of God" set.

These days, however, he has read Gilles Kepel's *The Revenge of God* and is hot-footing it in the reverse direction. As for his youthful indiscretion in the Sixties, he blames that on taking professional sociologists too seriously. It appears that had he followed his deeper instincts he might even then have seen that the experts had got it all wrong. Happily the deeper instincts have now fully recovered their proper sway. A liberated Mr. Cox emerges as

Fire from Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostalism, Spirituality, and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-First Century, by Harvey Cox (Addison-Wesley, 332 pp., $23)

propagandist for a worldwide religious renaissance, and one best illustrated by the rise of Pentecostalism.

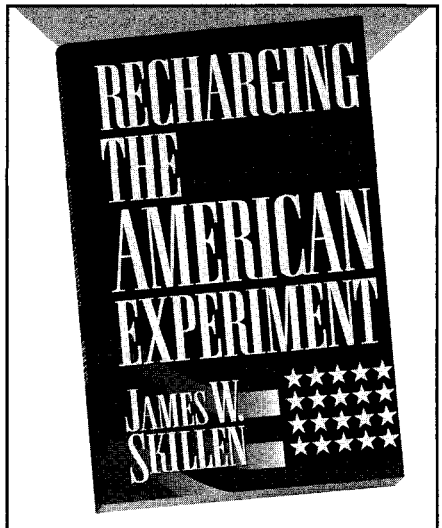
As a sociologist who criticized the "secularization thesis" way back in the Sixties and who has spent some eight years closeted with the implications of Pentecostalism, I am as intrigued now by his reconversion as I once was by his secular enthusiasm. Perhaps something quite touching is going on here. Maybe Pentecostalism has stirred up memories of a Baptist childhood, enabling him to give a lively account of the feel of the movement, as well as to grasp the central issues. Unfortunately, there is in Harvey Cox a hint of Jimmy Swaggart. Both of them are endowed with thespian and rhetorical gifts which would have carried them far in the arts but can be a nuisance when it comes to religion. What we have here is a semi-autobiographical travelogue spiced with talk-show interviews, after-dinner hearsay, and half-digested gobbets of half-remembered conferences.

The book will sell. No doubt most members of the general public picking it up in the stores will accept the extraordinary claim, on page 1 of my review copy, that before Mr. Cox, Pentecostalism was "largely unexamined." With no fussy old footnotes to suggest otherwise, only very assiduous readers will glean the contrary from the generalized bibliography tucked away at the back. For that matter, there are probably plenty of readers ready to swallow statistics that even Mr. Cox cites with an air of breathless amazement. Take these seriously and you will soon be committed to the proposition that the total number of Pentecostals exceeds the total number of Protestants.

Perhaps Mr. Cox's conversion should be treated as a portent, because this kind of labile mentality acts as a radar screen, picking up whatever is on the way. Let Pentecostals note with modest alarm that their progress has won them so doubtful a piece of promotion.

I will take two examples of Mr. Cox's style, one from the chapter on Latin America and one from the chapter on

Mr. Martin is the author of Tongues of Fire: The Explosion of Protestantism in Latin America *(Blackwell).*



Are our political and legal systems in chaos? Find out what **George F. Will, William Bennett, Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr.,** and others have to say on this as **James Skillen,** executive director of the Center for Public Justice, interacts with their opinions in *Recharging the American Experiment.*

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Europe. In the former he suggests that he, as a "critical participant," is especially well placed to interpret "multifaceted" Pentecostalism. One prepares for a novel analysis.

Yet, with proper caution, Mr. Cox sets aside such a demanding enterprise and directs our attention instead to, for instance, confused chats he had over a codfish lunch in Rio. We are told that at this lunch the invitees became remarkably stimulated and eventually waxed contentious about the social sources of Pentecostalism. An amused and emboldened Mr. Cox now dares to enquire in high rhetorical tones just what the muddled commentators have to propose about the paradoxes of Pentecostalism, which he proceeds to list. How is it that the Pentecostals combine authority and spontaneity, their special appeal to women and their restoration of respect for men, their otherworldliness and their interest in material betterment in this world? You might almost suppose these paradoxes had been evaded by social scientists when, in fact, researchers have spent a great deal of time on their elucidation. Spontaneity, for example, relies on the boundaries set by authority. Could it be that it is the voluminous literature on the subject that has gone "largely unexamined"? If so, that would go a long way toward explaining why Mr. Cox concludes that Pentecostalism has the social scientists "baffled" and confounded.

Precisely the same insouciance turns up in the chapter on Europe. Here Mr. Cox again endeavors to show how the "experts," gathered at a Harvard conference in 1993, got it all wrong in suggesting that Europe is exceptionally resistant to the worldwide religious renaissance. As in the case of Latin America, you expect a review of literature and empirical data to sustain his contrary hypothesis. What we actually get is some brief references to the light dusting of Pentecostalism from Palermo to Kiev, alongside some racy anecdotes about personal encounters with Anglo-Caribbean Pentecostals. The Pentecostal presence in Europe is certainly of considerable interest, but it hardly refutes the argument about Europe being exceptionally secular. But then, curiously, Mr. Cox turns aside to offer a prolonged discussion of Pentecostalism in Sicily.

Mr. Cox introduces this topic with some low humor about anthropology being usually about chipped pottery or shrunken heads. He then makes an exception for some articles he has come across by Salvatore Cucchiari on Sicilian Pentecostalism. I have read these articles and greatly admire them, especially since they solve a particular puzzle about how Catholics cope with the loss of the consolations of the Virgin. What, however, does Mr. Cox do with them? After courteously introducing Mr. Cucchiari on page 192, he goes on to say that though he has himself not been to Sicily, what Mr. Cucchiari says of Pentecostals there "turned out to be true for the churches I attended on the mainland." This rather ignores the fact that Mr. Cucchiari's work is only marginally based on visits to churches. But in any case, after the introduction, Mr. Cucchiari's voice rapidly melts into Mr. Cox's own so as to make it quite unclear whose analysis this is. At no point is it stated that the substance of pages 192–203 is Salvatore Cucchiari's (or, alternatively, that Mr. Cox has independently devised an argument along amazingly similar lines). Surely when the argument of a junior scholar is deployed *in extenso*, every effort should be made to ensure unequivocal attribution throughout. It is just one further illustration of how a potentially valuable and insightful book has been ruined by carelessness.

So much for Harvey Cox. If readers desire to consult genuinely authoritative work on Pentecostalism and charismatic movements generally, then they should read a new volume edited by Karla Poewe, *Charismatic Christianity as a Global Culture* (University of South Carolina). This is of particular value for presenting field work but also for broader reflections by such major scholars as Walter Hollenweger, the

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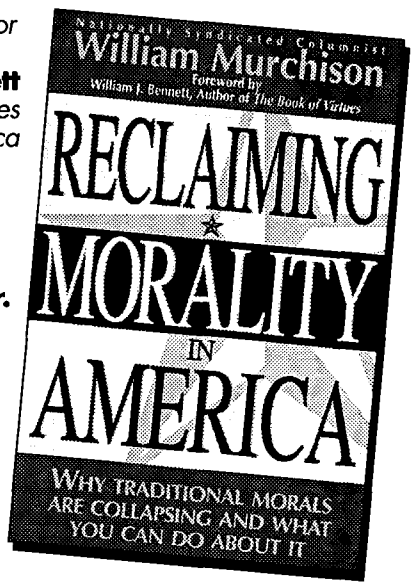

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dean of Pentecostal studies. Professor Poewe herself offers a rich and wide-ranging introduction. Another important volume is *Le Protestantisme en Amérique Latine*, by Jean-Pierre Bastian (published by Labor et Fides, in France). Mr. Bastian is the doyen of socio-historical studies of the long-term infiltration of Latin America by Protestantism. He speaks with a special authority, even though I disagree with his characterization of Pentecostalism as not really novel but an indigenous re-animation of the spirit of popular Catholicism, minus priests. These are simply the legitimate disagreements thrown up by the field—not due to the bafflement of a well-known scholar. □

Homecoming

BEN C. TOLEDANO

MOST OF US Americans enjoy the mixed blessing of not knowing much about the persons and places from whom and which we've come. Occasionally, some family member will have letters or photographs dating as far back as a great-grandparent. Knowing who and where our ancestors were when Andrew Jackson was elected President in 1828 is unusual. Even those of us whose families have lived in only one place in this country, and who could probably know more about our forebears if we chose to, tend to construct our own self-serving family histories, conveniently putting in and leaving out whatever we wish.

Farewell España: The World of the Sephardim Remembered, by Howard M. Sachar (Knopf, 439 pp., $30)

It is a fact that my first Toledano ancestor to come to America, Manuel, arrived in New Orleans from Córdoba, Spain, in the late 1760s, not long after Charles III of Spain reluctantly agreed to accept the "gift" of Louisiana from his cousin Louis XV of France in the Treaty of Fontainebleau. Manuel Toledano, a customs official, married a French woman, had a family, prospered, and lived a full Roman Catholic life. Since Manuel came to America from Spain and since his surname is that of a distinguished Sephardic Jewish family, one assumes that his branch of the family converted to Christianity before Spain's 1492 deadline. Whether his Roman Catholicism was a matter of faith or convenience, I will probably never know. Whatever the case, his religious affiliation served him well in New Orleans, a Roman Catholic stronghold to this day. Had Manuel's pre-1492 ancestor who converted had any idea that on December 16, 1968, Samuel Toledano would receive from Spain's Minister of Justice, Antonio Oriol, a government proclamation formally revoking the Catholic monarch's Expulsion Decree of March 31, 1492, he might have urged the family to leave Spain and bide its time.

Over the years, it has been my good fortune to visit with several of my Jewish "cousins," including Edward in London and the aforementioned Samuel in Madrid, all of whom have maintained their Jewish religious and cultural traditions. In truth, the only Toledanos I've ever met who are not Jews are the descendants of Manuel.

Howard Sachar, a professor at George Washington University, recounts the story of the Spanish Jews.

Mr. Toledano is a lawyer in Gulfport, Mississippi.

The Shock of Recognition

"Americans are arguing about an agenda of problems remarkably different from the agenda that preoccupied them just ten years ago. The epidemic of **illegitimate births**, the desensitizing effects of **violence** and other coarseness in entertainment, the politicization of higher education that is turning intellectual life into a **power struggle**, the Balkanization of America by **'identity politics'** that produces truculent jockeying among groups seeking preferment in a racial, sexual and **ethnic spoils system**—these and related developments are now at the center of our national conversation. The range of discussible subjects has expanded as the range of things we can take for granted has contracted. Americans are wondering: **what kind of people were we** not so long ago? What kind are we now, and what kind are we becoming?"

GEORGE F. WILL

The Leveling Wind

POLITICS, THE CULTURE & OTHER NEWS 1990-1994

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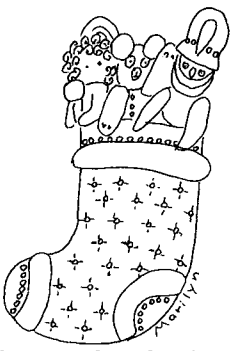
Having settled on the Iberian Peninsula in pre-Christian times, Jews flourished during four hundred years of Roman rule, in large part because Judaism was recognized by the empire as a legal religion.



Their good fortune began to deteriorate when, under Constantine, the Roman Empire converted to Christianity. Visigothic Christian rule during the sixth and seventh centuries brought about turmoil and suffering for the Sephardic (Iberian) Jews. Then, in 711, Tariq ibn Ziyad, governor of Tangiers, crossed the Strait of Gibraltar and established Islam's first stronghold on Europe's mainland. As one result, a partnership of sorts arose among Muslims, Christians, and Jews, one that would give rise not only to extraordinary cultural and intellectual achievements, but also to inhumane and uncivilized conduct. For nearly eight centuries, people committed to three distinct religious beliefs lived, prospered, and suffered together. That the Jews suffered the most, particularly from the mid 1100s through 1492 and beyond, is clear; but they were also able to make valuable contributions in philosophy, science, the arts, commerce, and statesmanship.

Ultimately, the centuries-long "holy war" between Islam and Christendom brought an end to Spain's extraordinary multicultural experience and resulted in a wave of intolerance culminating in brutality and expulsion. That the Sephardic Jews were able to achieve so much intellectually and culturally in the midst of so many grave tensions is a fact in which they take pride to this day.

The year 1391 was one of special horror for the Jews throughout Spain. Massacres, looting, and the destruction of synagogues took place from Seville to Barcelona, and led as intended to the immediate conversion of nearly 100,000 Jews to Christianity. Both the Christians and the former Jews, called *conversos*, had substantial difficulty in accepting the new equality on the one hand, and the forced conversions on the other.

Hostility toward *conversos* or "New Christians" resulted in their massacre in Toledo in 1449. The distinction to be made was no longer one of faith, but "purity of blood" (*limpieza de sangre*). Jews could not any more be redeemed simply by conversion. Yet King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella initially opposed anti-Jewish violence. The Queen declared "it is up to me to defend and protect them and to maintain their rights." Nevertheless, in 1478, she sought and obtained Rome's permission to undertake an Inquisition into alleged Judaizing on the part of New Christians. Nearly 30,000 *conversos* were burned to death or otherwise destroyed.

On March 31, 1492, three months after Granada, the last Moorish outpost in Spain, fell, Ferdinand and Isabella "by the grace of God King and Queen of Castile [etc., etc.], because we were informed that in these our kingdoms there were some bad Christians who Judaized and apostatized from our holy Catholic faith . . . who try to always achieve by whatever ways and means possible to subvert and to draw away faithful Christians from our holy Catholic faith and to separate them from it," issued the Edict of Expulsion of the Jews from Spain, effective July 31, 1492. On December 5, 1496, King Manuel I of Portugal, in exchange for permission to marry Ferdinand and Isabella's daughter, issued his decree expelling the Jews from Portugal, effective December 31, 1497. Thus Iberia was purged of its Jews. (Or so it thought. *Marranos*, or crypto-Jews, persisted and can be found in parts of the former Spanish empire even today.)

Just before the Spanish edict was to take effect, one final effort was made by Isaac Abravanel, *converso* statesman and courtier, to change the Queen's mind. "Do you believe that this comes from us?" she asked and quickly answered for him: "The Lord hath put this thing into the heart of the King." However, one far more in touch with reality, the Ottoman King Bayezid II, upon learning of Spain's expulsion decree, exclaimed: "Can you call such a king wise and intelligent? He is impoverishing his country and enriching my kingdom." I would have also asked, "Can you call such a king Christian?"

The Ottoman Empire and many other parts of Europe and the Mediterranean world were indeed enriched by the expulsion of the Jews from Spain and Portugal. During the fifteenth century, Sephardic settlements were established in such cities as Fez, Naples, Venice, Palermo, Messina, Spalato, Sarajevo, Belgrade, and Cairo. In the sixteenth century, cities in Morocco, France, England, Italy, and several Ottoman kingdoms benefitted greatly from the presence of the Sephardic immigrants. By the early seventeenth century, about 1,500 such Jews had settled in Holland, and by the end of that century, the 6,000 Dutch Jews were as safe and secure as were Dutch Christians. Their influence has been credited with nourishing commercial vitality in the Netherlands. If Andalusia had been the Second Jerusalem, Holland became the Calvinist Jerusalem.

Given such a narrative, perhaps it is my fault that I found Professor Sachar's book disappointing. I had expected from the title that it would include far more about the Sephardim in Iberia, whereas most of the material relates to those parts of the world where Jews, both Sephardic and Ashkenazic, located after 1492, and a significant portion involves twentieth-century history. The book's lack of chronological continuity is also something of a problem. Often, transitions from the Middle Ages to the present are made within a matter of paragraphs. For such reasons it is more likely than not, and most regrettable, that this book will be of interest almost exclusively to Jews.

At the same time, this book has caused me to learn about and reflect upon a part of my family's history previously unknown to me. What would I have done in 1391 or 1492 if the life-or-death decision had been mine to make? Though we can never put together the many parts of who and what we are, even the smallest piece can shed some light.

How deeply can we really look into our spiritual selves and into our true feelings as they pertain to our religious identities? Surely it is simpler and less disruptive to leave things as they are, especially if they engender comfort and acceptability. To see is not always to believe, just as to believe is not necessarily to see. My mother's father was a non-practicing Roman Catholic. Her mother, whose family came to Louisiana in 1848 from Alsace-Lorraine, was a (non-practicing)

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Jew—making me, according to the Jewish definition, a Jew. My father's parents were devout Roman Catholics, though some of his father's ancestors were once Sephardic Jews. I was raised an Episcopalian and at one time long before that church became a strictly secular organization, gave serious consideration to becoming a minister. Now I am a man without a religion but not without faith. With all of those things said, where do I go from here? Perhaps I could find the answer in Spain. □

Poetry Reading at Greeley's Pub

ROBERT ROYAL

FATHER ANDREW Greeley is a singular figure, the intellectual equivalent of an eccentric Irish bartender who serves up odd spirits—one part illuminating, another exasperating. Besides the novels, which intend to titillate as much as to assure us that Providence lies behind the declensions and conjugations of lust, Father Greeley has produced a serious body of work on the sociology of religion. You can count on him to take to task the foolishness of prelates, professors, and pundits, liberal or conservative. But there the predictability ends. By turns commonsensical and perverse, when he's good he's a helpful gadfly, but when he's bad he's—well, still a man of the cloth.

Religion as Poetry is quintessential Andrew Greeley. Those who think poetry has nothing to do with religion will find useful, if quirky, instruction here. Religious stories, usually the deepest font of faith, are poetry in the sense that they effect spiritual transformation—the way poetry, conventionally defined, provokes aesthetic and emotional reactions. Some exceptional souls may be converted by argument, others have the pathway cleared by explanation, but most begin, as children or adults, with experiences of a spiritual reality that invites rational exploration.

Religion as Poetry, by Andrew Greeley (Transaction, 253 pp., $32.95)

By poetry, then, Father Greeley does not mean mere fancy. Religious stories have concrete effects—not least, they inspire doctrine, institutions, and liturgy. Indeed, his strongest intellectual contribution here is to remind social scientists that to neglect religion is to get the picture—the empirical world of human societies—exactly wrong. Social scientists usually assume that modernization leads to secularization. Several years ago, for instance, the sociologist Thomas Luckmann argued that religion could no longer support a political party. Yet Christian Democratic parties have sprung up in Eastern Europe and still show strong influence in such countries as Germany and Chile. Father Greeley points out that the civil-rights movement in this country and Solidarity in Poland also had religious roots.

The statisticians will have to judge whether Father Greeley's methodology, with its shop-talk of Beta coefficients, viromax analyses, and regression studies, accurately interprets survey data. To the lay eye, some of the results are quite remarkable. Who would guess that about one-third of Americans have had a life-changing, transcendent experience? Forty per cent say they have had contact with a deceased loved one. Around the world, people seem to pray with astonishing frequency. (According to Father Greeley even many atheists pray every week: 40 per cent of Irish atheists, 20 per cent of American ones, 12 per cent of West German.)

To those who think religion crucial for human well-being, all this will come as illumination. Has the eccentric spiritual bartender sobered up? Never fear. With Andrew Greeley, illumination precedes exasperation.

Perhaps in response to the secularism of the sociological guild, Father Greeley goes on to link the good news about the survival of religiosity with the more doubtful belief that faith is more widespread and purer now than in the "mythical" Age of Faith. Some

Mr. Royal is vice president of the Ethics and Public Policy Center in Washington, D.C. His most recent book is Jacques Maritain and the Jews *(Notre Dame).*

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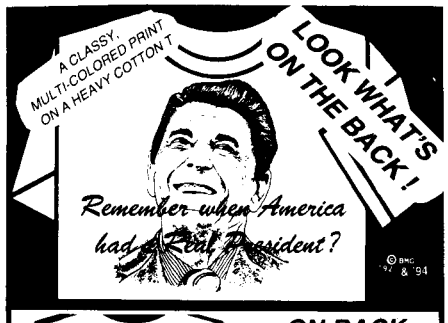

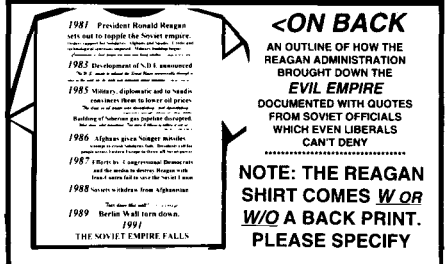
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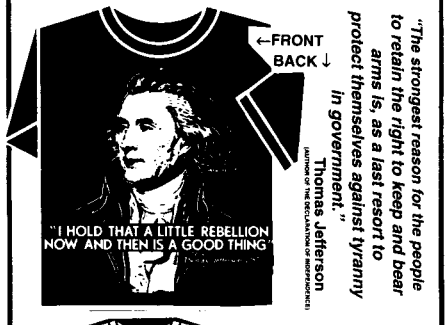
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recent medieval studies have raised serious questions about the older, pious picture. But judging the religious beliefs of illiterate populations who left almost no historical evidence is hazardous. Were medieval peasants as baldly irreligious or anti-Christian as recent irreligious or anti-Christian scholars have argued? It is difficult to believe.

Also, though Father Greeley is never a crude optimist or ideologist, he leans toward advocating a gender-blind, personal, and liberal Christianity. He shuns the mythological mishmash of a Joseph Campbell, but his own description of the Catholic heritage as "a rain forest of metaphors" rests on its own swampy ground. For example, a Catholic priest, even one writing as a sociologist, cannot simply assert, "In my own religious heritage, God is both male and female and neither male nor female." True in a sense, but what of the central, hard-edged formulation: Father, Son, Holy Spirit?

For several years, Father Greeley has been developing a theory, retailed here, about the "feminine side" of God and its effects on believers who view the Deity primarily as "friend, spouse, lover." The latter possess a "gracious" image of God, while those who emphasize the Biblical King, Lord, Master terms have an "ungracious" image. The gracious, according to Father Greeley's surveys, tend to support liberal causes such as welfare spending, feminism, and subsidies to AIDS patients, and to oppose militarism.

Some of this reflects differences between Catholics and Protestants. Father Greeley has found, for example, that Catholics are more likely "to imagine God as a woman and support feminist positions." If true, this is an important example of how religious images influence concrete attitudes. But such data also undercut feminist claims that Catholicism devalues women and that an all-male clergy inculcates a sexist view of God.

Ultimately, though, in his justifiable enthusiasm for the poetic function of religion, he neglects what you might call its prose function—its mission to instruct in the plainest terms available. Such overemphasis explains why Father Greeley may be too optimistic about the historical staying power of religiosity. On his showing, countries such as the Netherlands and Norway show strong secularizing trends. The United States remains broadly religious, but why are we all so uneasy about where we seem to be headed spiritually? Now that almost all public institutions convey subtle anti-religious messages and the churches display only a weak capacity to fight back, common sense tells us that both orthodoxy and religiosity must suffer.

At times, Father Greeley recognizes as much. Without the high (prose) tradition, he notes, the popular, poetic tradition either will not survive attack and change, or will fall victim to superstition. He is right to remind us that poetry, properly understood, can reignite religious imagination. But which side should be favored in the quarrel between poetry and philosophy usually depends on where things are headed at any given moment, and we are not exactly in danger at present of excessive dogmatism. Whether religious imagination will become a fire to warm us or a conflagration that carries all away hinges on an old question: how can the people believe unless someone instructs them? □

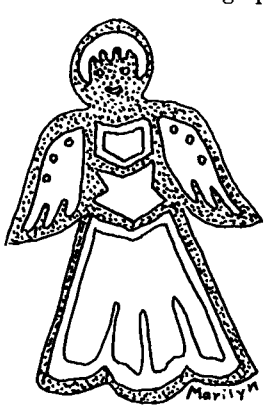
DELECTATIONS

Giving Thanks

LINDA BRIDGES

Season of mists and mellow fruitfulness,
Close bosom-friend of the maturing sun . . .
Who hath not seen thee oft amid thy store . . .
Or on a half-reap'd furrow sound asleep,
Drows'd with the fume of poppies . . .

AUTUMN may seem drowsy to the poet or the foliage-viewing tourist, but to the farmer, the gardener, and the cook it's the time for a last spurt of frantic activity. Do I have enough marinara in the freezer? It would be a crying shame to have to use canned tomatoes later on because I was too lazy to take advantage of the fresh ones still crowding the farmstands. We don't strictly *need* any more sorrel-soup base, but it would be ungrateful not to exploit one of the best crops in memory. And for present eating, who except George Bush could pass up those full domed broccoli the size of small shrubs? On my way to the farmers' market I pass a park where the small grey squirrels are rushing around gathering provisions. Me too.



Sometimes, to be sure, as I stand in the kitchen, midway through preparing five pounds of tomatoes for marinara, up to my wrists in seeds and glop, I wonder why I don't just buy the sauce ready-frozen from my local fancy food store. Partly, it's to use tomatoes I've overbought; partly, I've now got the recipe just the way I want it. But partly, too, I suspect I do it precisely because I've never had to.

It's easy, living in a city apartment, to entertain Chekhovian feelings about life on the farm in an earlier and, one would say, better day. But then I think of the accounts given by my mother and my aunts of farm life in the first third of this century. There are few culinary tasks more enjoyable than making pies and cookies—but how about having to keep a wood-burning stove fired up all day in a hot Minnesota August in order to turn out pie after pie and dozens of cookies for the men out in the fields? Having your husband bring home a deer he'd shot in the cornfield would be great, especially with the family's meat stores running low and it still two months till hog-killing time—but with no electrically operated refrigeration, having to get the meat cut up and preserved amid all the other summer tasks must have been frazzling. If we want to put up chard or beet greens or corn* we can just blanch it, pop it into a plastic bag, and pop the bag into the freezer—*et voilà*. Farm

Miss Bridges is NR*'s managing editor.*

*Bill Rickenbacker tells me I shouldn't pass judgment on Silver Queen corn (cf. "Bounty," Sept. 26) until I've tasted *his* Silver Queen.

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wives then had to can the stuff; more standing over that same hot stove—and without respite, since what you grew in your kitchen garden in the summer had to feed your family through the winter.

Actually, the kitchen garden still calls its own tune, to judge by the shellshocked tones of Vermont housewives: "My beans have come on awful sudden." Then there was the man who came home one evening to hear gunshots; racing to the back yard, he saw his usually rather dignified wife flinging huge zucchini as if they were clay pigeons, for their son and a buddy to shoot down.

But at least in the northern half of the country it will all be over by the fourth Thursday of November, time to give thanks. To judge from the November issues of the food magazines, there are two sorts of Americans: those who have taken to eating things like codfish stuffed with brown rice on Thanksgiving Day; and those who, however far afield their everyday tastes have ranged since they left their parents' home, return on this day to substantially the Thanksgiving meal they grew up with.

The key is the turkey stuffing. There's a scene in a Dorothy Sayers novel where Lord Peter Wimsey unmasks an impostor by noting that the man ordered whisky and soda at his club, whereas the man he was impersonating drank whisky and water. Lord Peter explains: A man will drink whisky and *soup* before he'll switch from water to soda.

By the same token, people may substitute ham or even prime rib for the turkey, but if you *have* turkey, it's hard to imagine being indifferent to whether the stuffing is made with chunks of bread, bread crumbs, cornbread, or chestnuts. My grandmother made the stuffing at our house as long as she was able—mainly because my mother, being allergic to onions, wanted as little to do with it as possible. Grandma's stuffing was chunks of bread, sautéed onion and celery, three eggs, the giblets, and lots of herbs, especially sage. The only change I've made (apart from saving some of the giblets for the gravy) is to add sausage, an idea I got from a cousin on my father's side of the family. It takes all morning and three skillets, and making it is as much fun as eating it.

Another reason to give thanks. □

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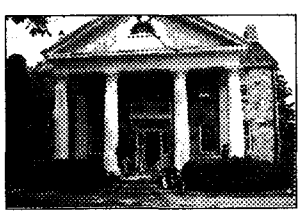

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BOOKS IN BRIEF

Acts of Faith: A Memoir, by Faith Abbott (Ignatius, 274 pp., $14.95)

AS THE author concedes, not many Americans under sixty can identify "MRA," a movement (Moral Re-Armament) widely popular for over a generation. It sought no less than the reconsecration, by its votaries, of the world we live in, in exchange for a better world. Thoroughly Christian in its orientation, it nevertheless lacked dogmatical structure, which finally led the author to abandon it and to welcome, indeed revel in, the formal Christianity of the Catholic Church. Miss Abbott recounts the poignant aspects of her departure from a movement that was also a culture. Followers of MRA are not to be compared with the widely advertised cultists who, e.g., follow the strictures of the Reverend Moon. Especially by current standards, they were self-disciplined disciples—of an extra-secular movement that attracted the attention of fastidious thinkers such as Arnold Lunn. Miss Abbott even as a young girl was given to chronicling her thoughts and experiences, and her work is familiar to readers of the *Human Life Review*, published by her husband. Her *Acts of Faith* radiates a special warmth and concern, and reminds us, alas more vividly than frequently happens these days, of the electrical exhilaration in yesteryear of discovering the real thing, as Faith Abbott is confident she did. —WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

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Witness to Freedom: Letters in Time of Crisis, by Thomas Merton, edited by William H. Shannon (Farrar, Straus, 353 pp., $25)

THOMAS MERTON, monk, writer, and political activist, was among those interesting figures in the history of the Catholic Church who appear well on their way to becoming great masters of the spiritual life, maybe even saints, but don't quite make it across the finish line. An astute prelate once observed that Merton's love of solitude was too much like Thoreau's—a remark in which there is much to ponder. Merton's early writings, especially his autobiography, *The Seven Storey Mountain*, will always provide nourishment. But somehow in the late Fifties every leftist virus that was floating in the air penetrated his Trappist cell in Kentucky. He became downright sophomoric on subjects such as pacifism and the Bomb, and much of his work from that time on makes the reader feel trapped inside a Joan Baez album. This final volume of Merton's letters suffers from his political preoccupations. People you hoped never to hear about again—Miss Baez herself, Ernesto Cardenal, James Baldwin—parade across the pages. Merton had no illusions about the Soviet Union, but he thought the Cuban revolution the work of land reformers pushed into the arms of Marx and Lenin by American insensitivity. He must have gotten his information from the *New York Times*. Politics aside, these letters contain many fine passages about the interior life. And Merton's critique of modern "bourgeois" Christianity—whose secularist accommodations are emptying the pews, Catholic and Protestant—is painfully on target.

—GEORGE SIM JOHNSTON

And They Shall Be My People: An American Rabbi and His Congregation, by Paul Wilkes (Atlantic Monthly Press, 348 pp., $23)

AMONG American Jews, rabbis of the Conservative movement (which, unlike the Reform variety, theoretically upholds most of Jewish law) face a quandary. While many find themselves at a level of ritual observance approaching Orthodoxy, their congregants tend to be every bit as disaffected from Jewish religious life as the mass of liberal Reform Jews. And because rabbis are hired and fired by congregations, their lives are a constant tightrope act of cajoling and accommodating that leads to multiple frustrations. Paul Wilkes, a Catholic, captures the dilemma well, having spent a year with a Conservative rabbi in Worcester, Massachusetts, while the rabbi tried to sweet-talk his flock, and sometimes shame them, into a more spiritual way of life. While Mr. Wilkes maddeningly allows intriguing issues to pass by without comment or amplification, it is to his credit that he reports faithfully and fully what he sees, allowing the reader to draw his own conclusions about this very American brand of Judaism. —MARK MILLER

Marpingen: Apparitions of the Virgin Mary in Nineteenth-Century Germany, by David Blackbourn (Knopf, 510 pp., $35)

ON JULY 3, 1876, three young girls claimed to have seen the Virgin Mary near Marpingen, Germany. News of the apparition traveled quickly, and tens of thousands of pilgrims descended on the little town, causing an uproar that led ultimately to military intervention. With infectious enthusiasm, historian David Blackbourn presents a detailed account of these events and of Catholic life in the Bismarck era, and shows the turmoil of social, cultural, religious, and political issues at stake in the *Kulturkampf* of the time. Mr. Blackbourn's portrayal of religious people and their claims is openly sympathetic, and yet his objectivity remains impeccable; he gives voice to all sides and backs up all statements with his vast research. Mr. Blackbourn's engaging style and superb knowledge of the field make this book an exhilarating trip down one byway of the history of spirituality.

—KARINA ROLLINS

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The Physics of Immortality: Modern Cosmology, God, and the Resurrection of the Dead, by Frank J. Tipler (Doubleday, 528 pp., $24.95)

IF YOU call a cat's tail a leg, how many legs does a cat have? Five, you say? No, only four. Just calling a tail a leg doesn't make it one. Even cats know that. With all of the hubris of unbridled scientism, cosmologist Frank Tipler asserts the reduction of all reality to whatever physics is able to compute. In the course of playing his unrefereed game of cosmological speculation, Mr. Tipler labels the hypothetical final state of a closed universe with the Teilhardian moniker "Omega Point," and then renames it "God." By another sleight of labeling, the word "resurrection" becomes the name for a conjectured emulation of all humans by a future megacomputer. Readers who respect natural science will be offended by Mr. Tipler's disregard of its categorical limitations. Readers who respect theology will be offended by his abuse of the theological vocabulary. Those of us who respect both will be offended twice. Even Mr. Tipler finds his own conjectures incredible, and rightly so.

—HOWARD J. VAN TILL

LOWRY

(Continued from page 67)

For none of these accusations is there any evidence, physical or medical. None of the children gave any indication to their parents or anyone else during the supposed seven-month ordeal that anything was amiss at Wee Care. None of them bear any physical signs of abuse, even though they were allegedly stabbed with knives and forks. And when the state sent two piano benches on which Miss Michaels and the children supposedly urinated and defecated, and a wooden spoon supposedly an instrument of abuse, to the FBI for examination, none bore any sign of human protein. How, then, could a jury possibly have convicted Kelly Michaels?

For that, a rogue fringe of the therapeutic community can take credit. Bogus charges of sexual abuse are modern psychology's original sin. An early focus of psychoanalysis was Freud's seduction theory, the contention that neuroses stem from sexual abuse during early childhood. Freud had no evidence to support his suspicions, though he cajoled a number of patients into confirming them before he finally abandoned the theory. But the seduction theory's notion that beneath bourgeois respectability is a cesspool of sexual perversion resonates for feminists and therapists even today. It bears a clear relation to the theories of the woman whose "expert" testimony helped put Kelly Michaels in prison.

Eileen Treacy, a Bronx psychologist, maintains that a wide range of familiar childhood behavior—nightmares, bed wetting, fighting—is evidence of abuse. Called Child Sexual Abuse Accommodation Syndrome, this theory is indispensable in cases like Miss Michaels's. On the stand Miss Treacy—who had had access to the Wee Care children that the defense was denied—testified that a child's aversion to tuna or peanut butter was a symptom of abuse. So too were denials of abuse—"proof of the suppression stage," Miss Treacy testified. In short, *anything* a child did—and most of the warning signs of Miss Treacy's theory are considered normal by most child psychologists—was proof that he had been abused. That this superstition was allowed to stand as science in the courtroom is one reason the appellate court overturned Miss Michaels's conviction.

The destructive influence of rogue therapists can be seen clearly in the case of the Little Rascals day-care center in Edenton, North Carolina. Four local therapists, familiar with the rumors swirling around the day-care center, determined that every child they interviewed had been abused. Many of those children, subjected to Fonolleras–style questioning, now show signs of trauma and are still in therapy. "This did not meet up to anything that I'm aware of in terms of minimal standards of therapy," one psychiatrist told *Frontline*. "I don't think the kids got any treatment. In fact, I think a lot was done to undermine their mental health." The only Little Rascals children who were judged not to have been abused—and who seem to be doing fine now—were those sent to therapists outside the area or to no therapist at all.

These tactics don't always succeed; indeed, the tide seems to be turning against them. Dale Akiki was accused of abusing children while minding them during services at a church near San Diego in 1988–89. After the chil-

(Continues on page 84)

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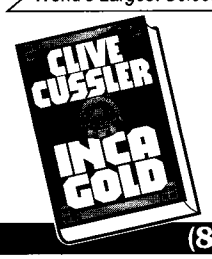

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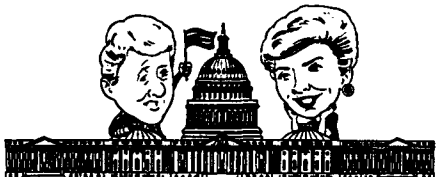

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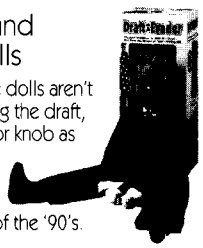

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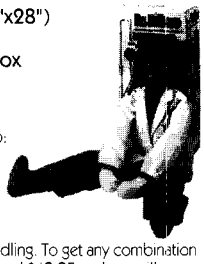

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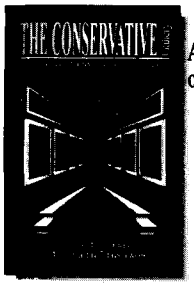

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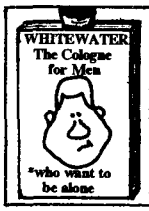

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LOWRY

(Continued from page 81)

dren had been in therapy for four years (with the church paying $500,000 to therapists and the county picking up another $350,000), several of them testified in a trial last year that Mr. Akiki had killed animals in front of them, made them eat feces and drink urine, and abused them in other disgusting ways. There was no evidence for any of it. But the prosecutor, as the *San Diego Union-Tribune* reported, "simply collected the 'disclosures' children made to therapists . . . and called it an investigation." After a seven-month trial, a jury took just seven hours to return a not-guilty verdict on all 35 counts. One juror told the *Union-Tribune*: "I can't say enough about how I feel about the therapists. Someone ought to look into what they're doing. They terrorized these kids."

The irony in the Michaels case is that it was Kelly Michaels who was in the dock, though there was no evidence against her, while there are pages and pages documenting how Lou Fonolleras and his colleagues tried to corrupt the Wee Care children. One exchange:

> Q: What are these things [pointing to a doll]? What we all have here? Breasts or boobies? What do you want to call them?
>
> A: You're teaching me.
>
> Q: I'm not teaching you. I'm asking you. Come on. Don't go throwing stuff around like that.
>
> A: Stop teaching me this stuff.
>
> Q: You got to learn somehow. . . .

And on it goes. "After reading a number of these interviews," concluded the amicus brief filed with the New Jersey Supreme Court on Miss Michaels's behalf by 46 experts on children's psychology, "it is difficult to believe that adults charged with the care and protection of young children would be allowed to use the vocabulary that they used in these interviews, that they would be allowed to interact with the children in such sexually explicit ways, or that they would be allowed to bully and frighten their child witnesses in such a shocking manner."

But they were. And even if the prosecution decides to drop the case, some will doubt Kelly Michaels's innocence. She will live for the rest of her life in the shadow of that doubt, and the children will live with the memories planted in their minds by their supposed protectors. □

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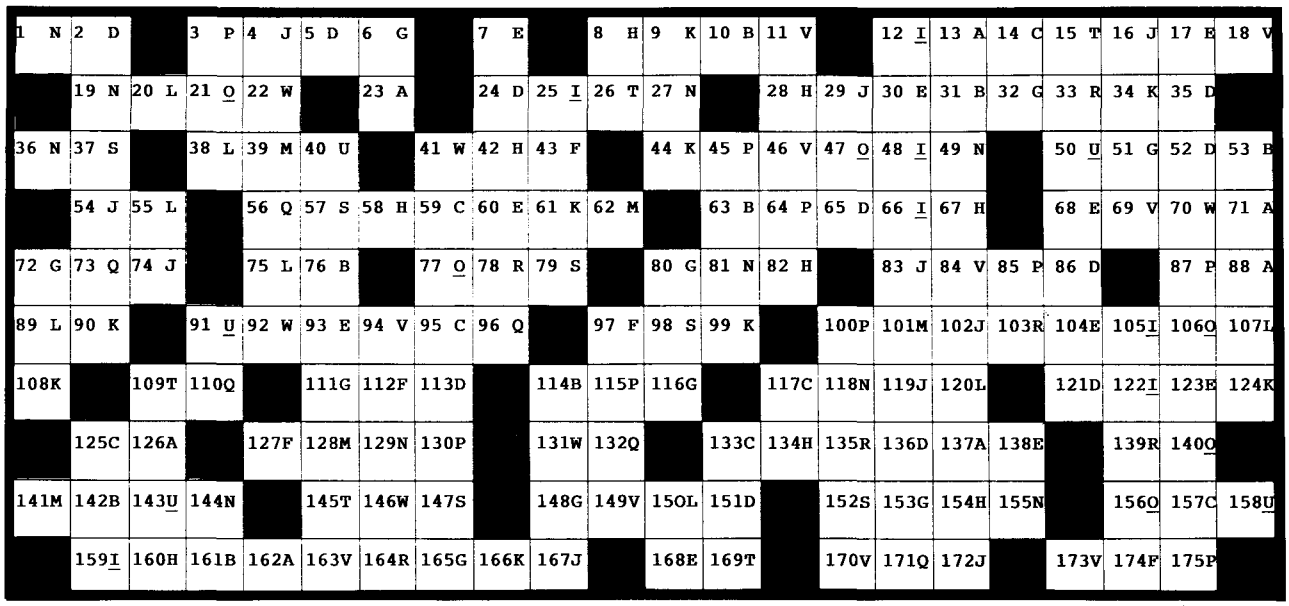

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F. Indian bigwig — 174 97 127 43 112

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I. *Basic Instinct* weapon of choice — 25 159 48 12 122 105 66

J. Like the Communist pitcher? — 16 172 29 83 54 4 102 167 119 74

K. Important congressional act of 1941 — 61 166 90 108 124 9 34 44 99

L. *Every dentist* has to cut them — 107 120 89 38 150 55 75 20

M. It must be served — 62 101 128 141 39

N. Hard to pin down — 19 36 129 118 155 1 81 49 27 144

O. Avow — 156 106 77 21 140 47

P. Track-meet necessity — 175 130 64 115 87 85 45 100 3

Q. Crime against the church — 171 96 73 56 132 110

R. Home of Ulysses — 33 103 78 139 164 135

S. More like Felix Unger — 37 147 57 152 79 98

T. Prone to chatter — 26 145 109 15 169

U. Portable abode of yore — 50 158 91 143 40

V. Disease of the eye — 69 94 149 170 84 46 11 18 173 163

W. Closer — 22 92 131 70 41 146

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's Deluxe Unabridged Dictionary*, Second Edition.

Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram. TONY SNOW: *Those Democrats:* "Tony Coelho, the Democratic hit man, wants his charges to jettison issues and go for the jugular: smear Ronald Reagan, accuse opponents of heartlessness, incite hopes and fears; . . . to make voters revile Republicans."

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Judge Ito Will Let Us See It! Hurrah.

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 8

Judge Ito having raised most (but by no means all) of the reasons not to permit television in the Simpson trial, he proceeded to rule in favor of television. The technique is of course conventional. You advance the arguments of the people on the other side in order to give the advocates who are there the opportunity to shoot them down. You allow your inclination to be overruled—by yourself. And you therefore inspire confidence in the judiciousness of your temperament.

The TV-defenders stressed many points, singular among them that 17 million Americans had watched the earlier, televised proceedings. When one network dropped coverage, the lawyer-witness said proudly, the public responded by simply turning off that channel and going to another, more loyal to *California* v. *Simpson*. He was making the point that there is near-universal interest in the Simpson case. One has only to ask about the circulation of the *National Enquirer*, which is up one-half million because of its intensive coverage of the case. What is less than established is that where there is curiosity, there is an appetite to learn. There was endless blather by the TV-lawyers about the importance to the successful workings of democracy of a universal inspection of the processes of democracy, pleading that an elevation of the respect in which the courts are held would follow upon intense scrutiny of the epic trial ahead of us.

At this point Judge Ito made a vulnerable comparison. If it's true that the more spectators the greater the respect engendered, how come the respect for Congress continues to descend even though its sessions have been televised for the last three years?

The lawyer to whom he addressed that question never had a softer ball thrown at him. The reason, your honor, is that the people who give speeches in Congress are giving those speeches to the television audience. Much of the time there isn't another human body in the Senate or House chamber as the orators drone on. There is a public perception of the phoniness of it all and a corresponding lessening in respect for the proceedings. Whereas when we address the court, your honor, we are talking to *you*, to the witness on the stand, and to the jurors. Nothing else matters. And the seriousness of our proceedings has got to inspire confidence in the viewer.

Well then, said Judge Ito, how do you account for the heavy mail that came in—most of the 15,000 letters on the subject—urging me to ban television?

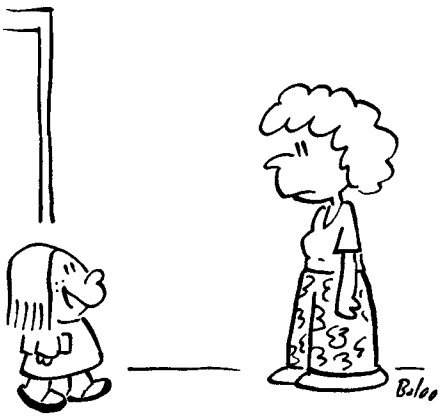
That mail was in response to the urging of columnist Mike Royko, who looked in on one of the early hearings, was disgusted, and urged his constituency to record a corresponding disgust.

The TV-lawyer countered by saying that anybody who was in the business of soliciting letters urging this or the other course of action could get a heavy delivery: he could do it himself. But, your honor, we are aware that you are the last person in the whole world to be influenced by public opinion on matters that have to do with justice (his honor purrs his agreement on this point).

What wasn't mentioned in the hours taken up in the discussion is the lurid nature of the crime committed and the notoriety of the man charged with that crime, which are the reason for the interest of the public in the spectacle. That evening, William Bennett hit a flashy polemical home run. The deplorers were going on and on in the MacNeil–Lehrer show about how awful the political campaign had been, with all the negative advertising, etc., etc. Bennett, with the expression of an innocent schoolboy, said that the first segment in the show that evening, which focused on the race in Virginia, had established that the contestants there, North and Robb, did indeed accost real issues. Self-satisfied purr from everybody. One second's dramatic pause by Mr. Bennett: "Yes, your coverage of the serious side of the Virginia race consumed about twenty seconds."

So is it with the Simpson trial. For every hour of the proceedings twenty seconds will appeal to the serious listener, the balance to the sensation-monger. When the DNA witness says, Yes, the blood on the glove is the blood that courses through the veins of O. J. Simpson . . . When they play the tape of the dead wife pleading with the police to come and rescue her from one of O.J.'s warm-up rages a year or two back . . . The listening audience isn't there to gain a greater understanding of Wigmore's Rules of Evidence.

Judge Ito ruled in favor of unlimited access to the circus. It will be an uplifting experience. □



"We learned in science class today about cavepersons."

Social Security In Congress

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 1

CBS's *60 Minutes* picked the perfect moment to run its exposé on congressional pensions—one week before Election Day. Everybody sort of sensed that they were generous, but it was difficult to imagine just how generous they are. Albert Gore, the father of the Vice President, retired as a senator in 1970, when he was earning $45,000 per year. He is still very much alive, and is paid more than twice that sum every year.

Moreover, payments are indexed, which means that every year they grow to compensate for what inflation did to the dollar. The pension cannot decrease in dollar purchasing power, which is more than the government does for innocents who buy U.S. bonds.

The lively Miss Leslie Stahl questioned many senators on their views of the pension system and isolated two different types. The first, retiring Senator Dennis DeConcini, was abrupt and hostile, at first declining to answer her question, finally tuquoque-ing her: "What about your own pension, Miss Stahl?"

Fair enough, she said, and we next see

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her with an accountant for CBS who has crunched the numbers and advises her that if she were being paid exactly the salary Senator DeConcini is paid, and retired after 18 years, her yearly pension would be $23,000—or less than one-half the senator's. She goes back to her quarry, who says, Dammit, how much money do CEOs receive in pension? Miss Stahl takes us to a CEO in the Midwest who reminds her that a CEO is responsible for the economic affairs of a company. Back to the senator, who says, Well, we're responsible for the affairs of the entire country; back to the CEO, who smiles and says that the senatorial CEOs are hardly discharging their responsibility given that we are running $200-billion deficits. And of course this does not affect the pensions, because they are simply drawn in from tax money.

Senator Alan Simpson was more relaxed about it. He did, ever so gently, suggest that he had made sacrifices by coming to Washington to serve. He had been a successful lawyer, earning more than he did on the government payroll. He figured he had paid his dues.

On the other hand, he said, he did think that pensions should be steeply taxed on the progressive principle. There is no reason to tax the postman, with his $20,000-a-year pension. "But if a retiring senator is worth a couple of million dollars, then his net pension should reflect his relative affluence."

Not the best line to take. Progressive taxation was singled out by F. A. Hayek as the Achilles' heel of self-government. If Senator Simpson has accumulated $2 million, this should not be a reason to discriminate against him.

What the whole picture dramatizes is the raw need of so many politicians to remain in office. Some years ago Congress voted to deny its members the right to continue to practice their professions. Thus lawyers could not any longer practice law, doctors medicine, accountants accounting. The result has been the attrition of skills and a corresponding dependence on remaining in office. Senator David Boren of Oklahoma is leaving his Senate seat in order to serve as president of the University of Oklahoma, but he is the exception, with manifest skills in several disciplines. The typical congressman faces the awful prospect of unemployment, or at least relative unemployment. To guard against this it is vital for the incumbent to remain in office, and to accomplish this he has to appease the special interests who look after your campaign expenditures. And then when old age or whatever forces you out of Congress, it is vitally important to have a robust income coming in in the form of a pension.

The case for term limits is every day reinforced by such scandals as *60 Minutes* highlighted. Every year since 1984, we learn, the relevant committees of Congress have pledged to rewrite the pension code to their disadvantage. That was ten years ago, and nothing has happened. Perhaps the CBS morality tale will galvanize people into action, and here the easiest path to take is to vote against the incumbent. □

Giuliani's Maneuver

NEW YORK, OCTOBER 28

When in 1969 Norman Mailer ran his eccentric campaign for mayor of New York he made only a single proposal that lingers in the memory, namely that New York City should be made a separate state. There are 62 counties in New York State, 5 in New York City. Staten Island from time to time reminds us of its singularity, but the remaining 4 counties are impacted/suburban, and Mailer's point was that it is only by historical accident that they should share statehood with, e.g., Cayuga County.

Now the constant tug—New York City *v.* New York State—has to do, as one might expect, with the allocation of revenues. Much the same applies at a higher level. Ohio cares how much it gives to Washington, D.C., and how much Washington "gives"—or more accurately, returns—to Ohio. Thirty states receive (slightly) more money from Washington than they remit. The other states send more money than they get back. As of 1993 for every dollar sent by New Yorkers to Washington, they could expect 83 cents in return. Senator Jacob Javits used to boast about the money he had seduced Washington into sending to New York. He never described the money seduced by Washington from New York, for the very good reason that the latter sum exceeded the former.

Rudy Giuliani knows all that stuff, because he is a very bright man. To be a bright man in politics often means that you feed popular superstitions. This point was brilliantly accentuated when, three months ago, Giuliani came out for the federal crime bill. Why did he do this? Previously he had argued that the "extra" policemen Washington was giving to the states were drastically underfunded. The crime bill will send out only about three-quarters of the actual cost of maintaining those extra policemen.

But even having made that point, Giuliani nevertheless came out for the crime bill, for one very simple reason, namely that $800 million dollars was slated to go to New York City. Now since that money does not materialize like the gentle dew, simple arithmetic informs the inquirer that in order to receive $800 million from Washington, it becomes necessary for New Yorkers to send $964 million to Washington. What Mayor Giuliani was in effect doing was taxing New Yorkers over $100 million more than they'd have had to pay if the crime bill had not passed.

But to look at it that way is to take the longer perspective, which isn't often the thing politicians want to stress. As far as Giuliani was concerned, he could say that he was supporting a bill that would cause $800 million to turn up in New York City. What more to ask? One has to suppose that there are crime-bill supporters who think the money is coming from Las Vegas. Giuliani and Cuomo have a considerable stake in the public ignorance.

It was similar short-order reasoning that caused Giuliani to announce his support for Mario Cuomo's re-election. All the reasons he gave are sad testimony to political cynicism. Giuliani joined the ranks of the Republican Party presumably because he saw in the Republican approach to political problems a difference from the Democratic approach. Suppose that George Pataki had been governor for 12 years, and that though he preached political sermons that made him sound like Ronald Reagan and Barry Goldwater, his record was so dismal that New York State was losing money and losing business. A young and relatively untried Democrat called Mario Cuomo decides to challenge the etiolated Republican, and so Mayor Giuliani says to himself: What the hell. Although I am a Republican I have to look at 12 years of Governor Pataki and come to the sad conclusion that he has been a failure. So let's give the Democrat a chance.

To have done as he did in exactly contrary conditions is inexplicable except on one assumption. Namely that he had privately concluded that Cuomo was going to be re-elected, and he wanted Albany's money. There is zero other explanation, given the awful record of Mr. Cuomo as governor, and the presumptive allegiance by Giuliani to the principles that distinguish his party from the Democratic Party. It is repellent to dwell on the political cant in which Mr. Giuliani engaged in his statement endorsing the tired windy spendthrift against the young Republican challenger. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

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Writing Heads

WRITERLY soul-searching has struck the *Washington Post*. Last month they had a huge Style piece called "Thinking Out Loud" in which print journalists debated the morality of going on television and hitting the lecture circuit.

Crossfire's Michael Kinsley, justifying his decision to abandon writing for screaming, reflected that the essay is no longer "the real world" because "people make up their minds watching TV." And besides, "I like the fame and fortune." As for lecturing, "I didn't do it for years, but it became more socially acceptable. Then I thought, no one seems to think there's anything wrong with this . . . It's amazingly lucrative."

Time's Margaret Carlson rues having to "skim the surface" on *Capital Gang*, where the "nuances" of her written work are not welcome. "I want to talk in paragraphs," she sighs, but what's a girl to do when being on the Gang Show has upped her speaking fee to $10,000?

Syndicated columnist Chris Matthews, who is on TV so often that millions of channel surfers think something is wrong with their remotes, made forty speeches last year. "Three speeches match your syndicated column income," he explained.

To Fred Barnes, having less time for "real journalism" is "very frustrating," but playing Freddie the Beadle on *The McLaughlin Group* has its consolations: "You have a certain visibility and get your calls returned." And its compensations: "Magazine articles don't generate speech requests." Barnes, whose speaking fee is about $5,000, gives six to eight speeches a month and thinks anyone who disapproves of this racket is simply jealous. "You only hear 'Aren't you degrading yourself' from other people in journalism, who aren't on shows," said he jauntily.

Oh, really? Before I saw the light I toured three books; I was interviewed on ABC by Barbara Howar and CNN by Marilyn Ringo, did Barry Farber's radio show with Martha Mitchell, and appeared as the mystery guest on *To Tell the Truth*. I still get speech requests, most recently a $5,000 offer from the University of Tennessee that I turned down. Once in a while a TV offer dribbles in because TV people still can't believe that any writer would say no, but I always say no because I refuse to be a Writing Head.

The distinction between Talking Heads and Writing Heads may not exist, but it ought to. The former are primarily television personalities who do no harm because television is their natural milieu. But the latter, by laboring in the wrong vineyard, risk spoiling precious grapes.

A Writing Head is a writer who encourages people to listen rather than read, and thus contributes to the destruction of his own metier. The warning signs of this unforgivable sin are evident in Chris Matthews's description of his new show, inexplicably named *In Depth*: "I don't spend any time thinking about it before I get here," he confesses. "If anything comes into my head, I basically can go with it. It's first draft."

That sounds like a workshop in the Theodore Dreiser Sentence: "The, to Carrie, very important theatrical performance was to take place at the Avery on conditions which were to make it more noteworthy than was at first anticipated."

Knowing what talking constantly on television does to the syntax of politicians, one has no reason to suppose that the same thing can't happen to the syntax of writers who talk constantly on television. It's happening to some Writing Heads already, and it produces a sensation that every Fifties-era woman will recognize: Trying to read their prose is like trying to dance with the man who took $10,000 worth of Arthur Murray lessons and still can't lead.

The writer's ear is sharpened by isolation and solitude, not by a little electronic plug carrying the disembodied voice of a producer counting off the seconds to commercial break. Heard often enough, the countdown will stay with the Writing Head when he sits down to his word processor, until the leisurely habit of polishing his prose deserts him. No longer will he heed Boileau's injunction, "Make haste slowly." No longer will he take the time to weigh the difference between the sturdy traction of "I've got" and the smooth glide of "I have" and decide which one his sentence needs. Alone in his atelier but with his mind still back at the sound stage, he acquires the habit of writing like someone who is trying to finish a thought before Eleanor Clift shrieks or John McLaughlin roars "Mor-TUN!"

FAME and money aside, I suspect that the lure of Writing Headdom is tied up with America's desperate quest for "well-roundedness" and our concomitant fear of its antithesis, the one-track mind. Intense concentration looks a lot like loneliness, so we deliberately scatter our shot to prove how well-adjusted we are. Our ideal is the straight-A student who is also a class leader and an "all-round athlete." Aware that intellectual triumphs alone would mark him as "weird," he hurls himself into extracurricular activities so no one will suspect him of studying too hard. When writers indulge this national tic, "extracurricular activities" translates into TV and lecture gigs.

I'll keep my one-track mind and indulge no tics but my own. The late novelist Jean Stafford expressed my brand of patriotism perfectly when she declared, "I pledge allegiance to the English language." To that I would add my religious credo: "Hail English, full of grace." I will mount no stages, sound or lecture, and if my book sales suffer for it, then so be it. I have no interest in fortune beyond earning enough to support myself, which I already do. As for celebrity, I trust John Keats:

Fame, like a wayward girl, will
still be coy
To those who woo her with too
slavish knees,
But makes surrender to some
thoughtless boy,
And dotes the more upon a heart
at ease.

—FLORENCE KING

St. Martin's will publish The Florence King Reader, *an anthology, early next year.*

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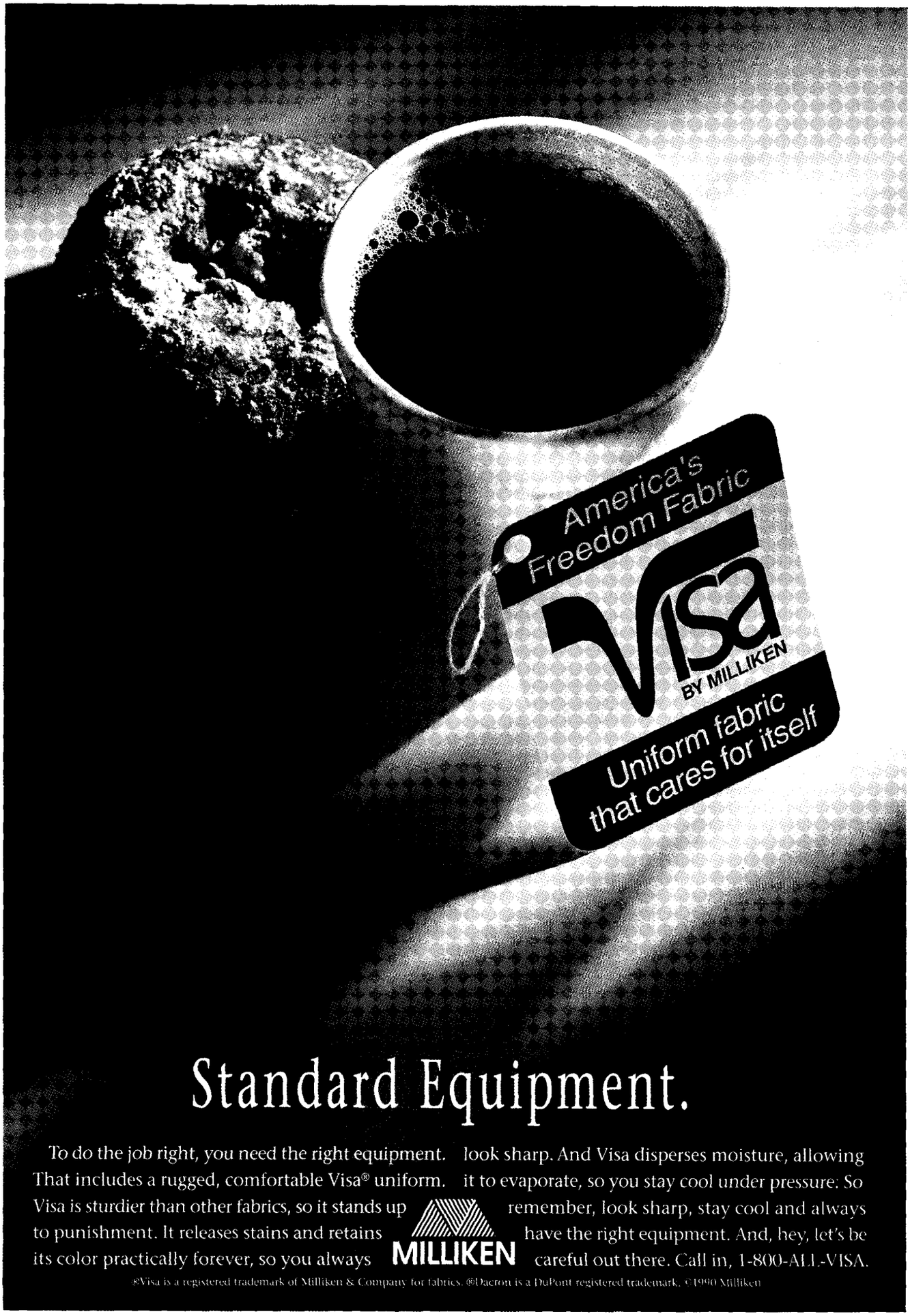

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